Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-036
Thursday
22 February 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-036 *22 February 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Budapest Hosts News Agencies Forum *[MTI]* 1
Warsaw Pact Working Meeting Held in Sofia *[Sofia Radio]* 1
Pact Army Chief Lushev Meets Dzhurov *[Sofia Radio]* 1
Lukanov Receives Lushev *[Sofia Radio]* 1
Mladenov Receives Lushev *[Sofia Radio]* 1
Lukanov Confirms Pact Support *[BTA]* 1

ALBANIA

Supreme Court President on Human Rights *[RRUGA E PARTISE Jan]* 2
Bekteshi Extolls TU Role in Building Socialism *[BASHKIMI 12 Feb]* 4
Economic Progress Report for 11-17 Feb *[Tirana Radio]* 4

BULGARIA

Commentary Criticizes Skopje Rally *[Kitsevski in BTA]* 6
Fatherland Front Declaration on Macedonian Issue *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Environment, Culture Ministers Appointed *[BTA]* 6
Dimitrov, Zhelev Want Roundtable 26 Feb *[Sofia Radio]* 7
UDF's Zhelev Said To Withdraw From Roundtable *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Feb]* 7
Mladenov Consults With Political Leaders 7
Trade Union Leader Petkov *[BTA]* 7
Petkov Statement on Meeting *[BTA]* 7
BCP's Lilov, BZNS' Dimitrov *[BTA]* 7
Lilov Briefs Press on Talks *[BTA]* 8
Lilov Interviewed on Consultations *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Feb]* 8
UDF's Zhelyu Zhelev *[BTA]* 9
Zhelev Interviewed on Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Fatherland Front Chairman Ganev *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Women's Alliance Cochairperson *[Sofia Radio]* 11
BZNS Leader Drenchev *[BTA]* 11
More on Talks, Statement Awaited *[BTA]* 11
Social Democrat Leader Wants Nov Elections *[BTA]* 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Meets Press Following Congressional Address *[CTK]* 13
Havel Emphasizes Importance of Council of Europe *[Hamburg DIE WELT 16 Feb]* 13
Further Developments on Soviet Troop Withdrawal 14
Slimak Releases Withdrawal Dates *[Prague Radio]* 14
Soviet Diplomats Questioned *[Prague Radio]* 14
Legality of Troop Presence Termed 'Invalid' *[CTK]* 14
Economic Leadership Addresses Trade Conference 15
Komarek on Market Economy *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Feb]* 15
Klaus Cited on Reform Strategy *[Prague Radio]* 15
Demonopolization, Privatization Discussed *[Prague Radio]* 15
Klaus Views Prospects of Privatization *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Feb]* 16
Trade Minister Urges Caution on Foreign Trade *[RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb]* 16
Trade Union Confederation To Replace Movement *[CTK]* 17

Airline Signs Contract With U.S. Company *[MLADA FRONTA 20 Feb]* 17
Minister of Defense Holds News Conference *[Bratislava PRAVDA 10 Feb]* 17
Vacek Urges Realistic Approach to Defense *[CTK]* 18
Changes to Military Service Rules Considered *[Prague Radio]* 18
Civic Forum Investigators Meet Security Official *[Prague Radio]* 18
Official Claims State Security 'Paralyzed' *[MLADA FRONTA 19 Feb]* 18
Former Political Prisoners Organize Confederation *[MLADA FRONTA 19 Feb]* 19
Dubcek Discusses Armaments, EC, German Unity *[Hamburg DIE ZEIT 16 Feb]* 19
Dienstbier, Congressmen Discuss Helsinki Process *[CTK]* 20
Urban Comments on Difficulties Facing Civic Forum *[CTK]* 20
New Energy Minister Favors Nuclear Power *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Feb]* 20
CPCZ Committee Discusses Recent Expulsions *[RUDE PRAVO 19 Feb]* 20
Mohorita Criticizes Simplication of Issues *[Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Feb]* 21
Discusses Changing Republic's Name *[Bratislava PRAVDA 16 Feb]* 21
CPCZ Officials See Danger of 'Dark Forces' *[Bratislava PRAVDA 19 Feb]* 22
Commission To Request USSR Documents on 1968 *[CTK]* 22
Christian Democrats Name Carnogursky Chairman *[CTK]* 23
Slovak Premier Interviewed on Pensions, Economy *[Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Feb]* 23
Slovak Youth Union Holds Congress *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Feb]* 24
Public Against Violence Holds Assembly *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Feb]* 24
Communique Summarizes CPSL-PAV Talks *[Bratislava PRAVDA 7 Feb]* 24
CPSL Blocks Newsprint Reallocation Agreement *[Bratislava PRAVDA 16 Feb]* 25
Printing of Slovak Newspapers Jeopardized *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Feb]* 26
Slovak Government Approves State's Name, Emblem *[Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Feb]* 26
Slovak National Council Holds Session *[Bratislava PRAVDA 10 Feb]* 27
Farmers Union Seeks Formal Political Status *[Bratislava Radio]* 28
Tradesmen, Entrepreneurs Establish Political Party *[Prague Radio]* 29
Assembly Assumes Tasks of National Front *[PRACE 8 Feb]* 29
First Bishop Consecrated in 40 Years *[Bratislava PRAVDA 19 Feb]* 29

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

No Rise in Food Prices Planned Before Election *[ADN]* 30
Further on Price Increases *[Hamburg DPA]* 30
Chamber Approves Law on Parties, Associations *[ADN]* 30
Constitutional Amendments *[ADN]* 30
SPD Manager Rejects 'Unconditional Annexation' *[ADN]* 31
Unification Cited at Rally *[ADN]* 31
Boehme on Unification *[Cologne Radio]* 31
Opinion Poll Gives SPD 36 Percent Support *[Hamburg DPA]* 33
Gysi Notes French Concerns on Unification *[ADN]* 33
Gysi Answers Questions *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17-18 Feb]* 33
Further on Unification Views *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 9 Feb]* 34
Gysi Proposes PDS Funds for Social Services *[ADN]* 35
PDS Draft Program Outlines Goals, Positions *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Feb]* 35
Thuringian FDP Rejects Election Alliance *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Feb]* 42
Lambsdorff Supports League of Free Democrats *[DER MORGEN 19 Feb]* 42
Attends Berlin Meeting *[DER MORGEN 19 Feb]* 43
CDU Office in Berlin-Mitte Attacked *[ADN]* 43
De Maiziere Addresses CDU Election Rally *[ADN]* 43
New Forum Defends Modrow Role in Dresden *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 17-18 Feb]* 44
Commentary Views Modrow's Talks in Bonn *[Guenther, Otto in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Feb]* 44
Parties React to Kohl-Modrow Talks *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Feb]* 45
Modrow Writes to LDPD About Free Enterprise *[DER MORGEN 15 Feb]* 45
Krenz 'Indirectly' Admits Election Manipulation *[Hamburg DPA]* 45
Council of Europe To Observe Elections *[ADN]* 46
Tisch Released From Jail; Investigation Ends *[ADN]* 46
Kohl Remarks on German Neutrality Criticized *[Duemde in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17-18 Feb]* 46
U.S. Strategic Study 'Guided' by Arms Industry *[Schaffman in BERLINER ZEITUNG 19 Feb]* 46

HUNGARY

Horn on Possibility of Joining NATO *[MTI]* 48
Clarifies Remarks *[Budapest TV]* 48
Somogyi Discusses Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[MTI]* 49
HSFS Urges USSR Relations Based on Trust *[MTI]* 49
New Ambassador in Moscow on Bilateral Relations *[NEPSZABADSAG 15 Feb]* 49
Editorial Assesses CPSU Plenum, Changes *[Bokor in MAGYAR HIRLAP 7 Feb]* 50
Deputies Demand University in CSSR *[NEPSZABADSAG 15 Feb]* 51
Ethnic Minority Demands in Romania Analyzed *[Vajda in NEPSZABADSAG 20 Feb]* 52
Opposition Parties Against Lakatos as Envoy *[Budapest Radio]* 52
World Bank Vice President Makes Official Visit *[MTI]* 53
Membership in World Peace Council Suspended *[MTI]* 53
International Chamber of Commerce Admits Nation *[Budapest Radio]* 53
Independent Smallholders Party Campaign Address *[Budapest Radio]* 53
Election Coalition Wants More Publicity *[Budapest Radio]* 54
Democratic Youth League Declares Stand *[Budapest Radio]* 54
Justice Party Presents Program for Gypsies *[Budapest Radio]* 54
MSZP Gives Account of Assets on Hand *[MTI]* 54
People's Party Views Election Prospects *[Budapest Radio]* 55
Election Supervisory Committee Set Up *[MTI]* 55
Alliance Calls for Rules for Power Transfer *[Budapest Radio]* 55
Social Democratic Party Campaign Broadcast *[Budapest Radio]* 55
Leader Criticizes Security *[MTI]* 56
Election Rally Held *[MTI]* 56
Alliances Ruled Out *[Budapest Radio]* 56
Democratic Forum Chairman on Coalition Prospects *[Budapest Radio]* 56
SZDSZ Official Discusses Possible Coalitions *[Budapest Radio]* 57
Parties Take Positions in Election Campaign *[Budapest Radio]* 58
Right Wing Likely To Gain Election Majority *[MTI]* 58
Briefing on Council of Ministers Meeting *[Budapest Radio]* 58
Assembly Discusses Defense Law Amendment *[MTI]* 60
National Bank Official Discusses Devaluation *[MTI]* 60
National Summit Issues Statement *[MAGYAR NEMZET 9 Feb]* 60

POLAND

Security Policy, German Reunification Assessed 62
Mazowiecki News Conference *[Warsaw Radio]* 62
RZECZPOSPOLITA View Given *[PAP]* 68
Bundeswehr Reduction Proposed *[Markowski in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 14 Feb]* 69
National Defense Committee Stance *[Warsaw TV]* 69
Sejm Speaker's Support Voiced *[Warsaw Radio]* 70
Solidarity Statement Issued *[PAP]* 70
Concern Over New 'Reich' *[TRYBUNA LUDU 19 Feb]* 70
COCOM Controls on Technology Export Relaxed *[PAP]* 71
1944-45 Executions Under Investigation *[PAP]* 71

ROMANIA

Police Appeal to Public To Help Maintain Order *[Bucharest Radio]* 73
Press Reaction to 18 Feb Demonstrations *[ROMPRES]* 73
Chitac on Army Officers' Demonstration *[Paris LE MONDE 16 Feb]* 73
More on Militaru Resignation, Political Climate *[Paris LE MONDE 18-19 Feb]* 74
Military Casualties Since Revolution Reported *[Bucharest Radio]* 75
Army Officers Demand Senior Ranks Be Cleared *[AFP]* 75
Liberal Party Leader Campeanu on Power Sharing *[Paris LIBERATION 9 Feb]* 76
Roundtable Deliberates on New Election Bill *[ROMPRES]* 76
Deliberation Reaches Consensus *[ROMPRES]* 77
Poll Forecasts NSF Election Victory *[ROMPRES]* 77
More Than 2,000 Trade Unions Registered *[ROMPRES]* 77

Transylvanian Vatra Romaneascu Union Founded *[ROMPRES]* 77
Fascist Group Announces Formation in Bacau *[ROMPRES]* 78
Daily DIMINEATA Makes First Appearance *[ROMPRES]* 78
* Apostol Defends Himself Against Accusations *[TINERETUL LIBER 10 Jan]* 78
* NSF-Orchestrated Rallies Criticized *[Novaceanu in ADEVARUL 28 Jan]* 79

YUGOSLAVIA

Reportage on Crackdown in Kosovo, Reaction 80
Curfew Announced *[TANJUG]* 80
Trains Stoned, Barricades in Pristina *[TANJUG]* 80
Kosovo Miners End Strike *[TANJUG]* 80
Albanian Protests 'Separatist' *[TANJUG]* 81
Police Halt Demonstrations *[TANJUG]* 81
Pristina Students Break Curfew *[Belgrade Radio]* 82
32 Albanians Reported Dead in Kosovo *[BORBA 16 Feb]* 82
Militia Mistreatment Protested *[RILINDJA 15 Feb]* 83
Kosovo Serbs Voice Grievances *[RILINDJA 17 Feb]* 83
Croat Party Backs Presidency Measures *[POLITIKA 18 Feb]* 84
Emigration Figures Said Distorted *[Rexhepi in RILINDJA 15 Feb]* 84
Vojvodina's Kostic Meets Volunteers for Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 85
Slovenia Urges Immediate Electoral Law Changes *[TANJUG]* 85
Slovenian Assembly Head 'Satisfied' With Ruling *[TANJUG]* 86
Slovene Assembly Rejects FEC Proposals *[TANJUG]* 86
Kosovo, Vojvodina Favor Constitutional Changes *[TANJUG]* 86
Serbian Assembly Favors Constitutional Amendment *[TANJUG]* 87
Croatian Assembly Adopts Constitutional Changes *[BORBA 16 Feb]* 87
Bosnia-Hercegovina Adopts Multiparty Law *[TANJUG]* 87
BORBA Poll on Next Elections *[12 Feb]* 88
Markovic Meets Major Yugoslav Enterprise Heads *[TANJUG]* 89
Talks With Bank Directors *[TANJUG]* 89
Markovic on Rise in Reserves, Fall in Inflation *[TANJUG]* 89
Bank Governor on 'Restrictive' Monetary Policy *[TANJUG]* 90
Yugoslav, Cuban Central Bank Heads Hold Talks *[TANJUG]* 90
1st Privately Owned Paper Launched in Novi Sad *[TANJUG]* 91
Reaction to Bulgaria's Comments on Macedonians 91
Rodic Protests Remarks *[TANJUG]* 91
Message Sent to Bulgarian Assembly *[POLITIKA 18 Feb]* 91
Bulgaria's Lilov Denounces Bulgarian Macedonians *[POLITIKA 19 Feb]* 91
Foreign Affairs Official on Austria Border Issue *[TANJUG]* 92

Budapest Hosts News Agencies Forum

LD2102112190 Budapest MTI in English 1921 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, 20 Feb (MTI)—On a Hungarian initiative, the leaders of the Bulgarian BTA, the Czechoslovak CTK, the East German ADN, the Polish PAP, the Romanian ROMPRES, the Soviet TASS and the Hungarian MTI news agencies held a forum in Budapest on Tuesday [20 February]. The participants informed one another about the profound changes in their countries and their press, increasing the news agencies' responsibility for, and role in, promoting democratic social transformation and expanding the openness of the press.

The participants agreed that, in keeping with the new political and social conditions and the demands of the multi-coloured press, the news agencies would continue to increase the openness of information, raise its professional standard and modernize its technical background. The news agencies will further extend objective and open information about one another's countries, providing an authentic picture even about the internal contradictions, conflicts and debates. They will pay increasing attention to the exchange of information about the situation of national minorities. The sides agreed that in their international news service they would make further efforts to promote the free flow of all forms of information, encourage professional cooperation, and improve the working conditions of their permanent and special correspondents so that the East-Central European news agencies should preserve their role in the international news system of relations between the news agencies.

Warsaw Pact Working Meeting Held in Sofia

AU1402194690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of the General Staffs of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states held a working meeting in Sofia today. They exchanged views on the practical implementation of the Stockholm Conference documents on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Pact Army Chief Lushev Meets Dzhurov

AU1402213690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, arrived today in Sofia. The visitor is already holding talks with Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense. Soviet Ambassador Viktor Sharapov is present at the meeting.

Lukanov Receives Lushev

AU1502101190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] On 15 February, Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, attended the meeting.

Mladenov Receives Lushev

AU1502104990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] On 15 February, Petur Mladenov, chairman of the State Council, received Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. Earlier, Petr Lushev was received by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, took part in the meetings.

Lukanov Confirms Pact Support

AU1502170090 Sofia BTA in English 1509 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 15 (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member Nations.

On behalf of the government he confirmed Bulgaria's policy of active participation in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and full support of the member countries for activating the processes of disarmament and the establishment of a new climate of confidence and mutual cooperation.

Supreme Court President on Human Rights

AU1802150090 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 1, Jan 90 pp 23-35

[Article by Aranit Cela, president of the Supreme Court: "Human Rights—A Distinguishing Characteristic of Socialist Justice in Our Country"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The institution of human rights involves the unity of the rights, freedoms, and duties of citizens. In our country, this institution is constructed on the foundation of certain basic principles laid down in the Constitution, whose observance and enforcement not only creates the necessary conditions for the existence and development of human rights in a socialist state, but also acts as a legal guarantee for their practical realization.

The rights of every subject of our country, the freedoms he enjoys, and his obligations are based on the principle of reconciling the interests of the individual with those of society, in which, as Marx says, the free development of the individual is a condition for everyone's free development.

The 45-year post-liberation period in our country has proved that the process of developing and extending the rights of subjects proceeds in tandem with the general progress of society.

Of course, there can be no ideal congruence between the interests, demands, and desires of the individual and those of society, because a range of objective factors plays a part.

It must above all be stressed that the interests and demands of working people, especially their material and cultural demands, rise faster than the development of society's economic base.

Various petit bourgeois symptoms, the low level of awareness of some working people in general, and omissions and shortcomings sometimes noticeable in the mechanism of the state—particularly in organization and management—encourage discrepancies between the interests of working people and those of the state and society as a whole.

It must nevertheless be emphasized, first, that the aforementioned antisocialist symptoms are not characteristic of socialist life and development, even though they may give rise to a dangerous gulf in relations between the people and the state if they are not stopped and nipped in the bud, and, second, that the increasing development of socialism, the further refinement of socialist relations, and continued improvements in the prosperity of the working masses lead to ever closer harmony between the interests of the individual and those of society.

One of the most positive signs in our socialist society is the generally satisfactory balance struck between civil rights and duties. It is now accepted that these two concepts constitute or should constitute a whole under the conditions of the establishment of socialist relations. A right always implies a duty, and the two together combine to represent an important factor in harmonizing the interests of the individual with those of society. The realization of the rights of every citizen, whether a cadre or an ordinary worker, is among other things an important factor in realizing and developing the rights of every person.

The achievements under 45 years of the people's power in all areas of life, especially in the country's economic development, the reinforcement of the judicial order, and the country's defense capability are major signs of socialist patriotism, the mobilization of the working masses, and their level of awareness in carrying out their obligations to society.

However, we notice in practice that there are individual working people who, although the demands they make of society have risen, give little to society. There are even elements who do not carry out the duties of their positions. There are others who break the state's laws and violate labor or state discipline, or even commit crimes. There are even bodies or cadres who, by neglecting or abusing their authority, prevent working people from realizing their rights, even though these are recognized by law.

Of course, the contradictions which arise in our socialist country within the complex of rights and duties are not of an antagonistic character, but are overcome with the passage of time and through increased production, improved living standards, careful and continual education, and better management and organization in production, distribution, and the state administration in general.

We stress this because the picture in bourgeois- revisionist countries is quite different. Under the regime of the exploitation of man by man, there can be no question of a unity of civil rights and obligations. Capitalist production relations by their very nature create a major rift between the sphere of rights and the sphere of obligations, as well as between civil rights and duties in general. Human rights and duties in these states are disproportionately distributed according to class allegiance and the possession of material goods. The lower strata of the population are encumbered with many duties, and cannot enjoy, or enjoy only to a very small extent, the formal rights and equality recognized by the Constitution and the law. This is also for the simple reason that realizing the majority of these rights, especially those in the socioeconomic field, such as the right to education, health care, legal defense, and so forth, depends on the individual's material resources. [passage omitted]

Socialist Albania is perhaps one of the first countries in the world where total equality exists among people of different nationalities. Through our party's correct policies and the development of our people's age-old traditions of respect and understanding, the Greek minority,

the Macedonian ethnic group, and individual citizens of various nationalities have lived for 45 years in Albania in unity and harmony with the Albanians as brothers and comrades with a single ideal and goal. Thus, national equality in Albania is not under the influence of the clamorous propaganda of chauvinist tendencies with their perverted ambitions, such as the propaganda served up by the Serbian megalomaniacs in Belgrade, but is on the contrary a result of the Albanian state's social character, an element in the party's general line, and a product of the internationalist feelings of the Albanian people. These are also factors in the development of the prospects for national equality in Albania. [passage omitted]

It is to be stressed that the international bourgeoisie and their revisionist supporters throughout the world ignore today the main problems of rights of an economic character and highlight political and social rights, mainly freedom of thought and religion, the existence of many parties, and the free movement of citizens, which means the opening of state borders. This is all to distract the attention of the broad strata of the populace from their basic problems and rights, especially those of an economic nature.

In the last 45 years, our country has viewed sociopolitical and economic rights as a whole. Work is the basis of the prosperity of every citizen and all our society. The socialist state guarantees work for every citizen. Unemployment is unknown in Albania, and the right to work has become a reality. Inseparable from the right to work are social security rights, which are now one of the worst blights of the capitalist system. We can now pride ourselves on the level of development that Albania has achieved in the material security of its working people, and this at a time when the unemployed in neighboring Yugoslavia in May 1989 totaled 1,200,000, in the Soviet Union 6 million, in Britain 3 million, in the FRG more than 2 million, etc. As a result of the absence of labor security in the United States, according to the Department of Commerce, 30 million people, amounting to 13.1 percent of the population, live below the official poverty line, while the number of such people in the 12 countries of the EEC is as high as 44 million. Just think to what extent the freedoms vaunted by the bourgeoisie can be realized by the working masses in the dire state of affairs which has enveloped all capitalist countries to a greater or lesser extent.

Of course, even in our country, problems sometimes arise in connection with the right to work, especially in such fields of labor organization as the correct allocation of the work force, the allotment of work according to people's talents and abilities, specialization and job description, temporary incapacity and social security, and so forth. If these defects are not remedied in time, they injure the principle of the right to work and the interests of society. [passage omitted]

Human political and social rights, including rights of a personal nature, are many and various. However, they include some rights and freedoms of major importance, which exert a greater influence toward either strengthening the position of the citizen in the state and society, or protecting his interests as an individual. These include, for instance, a citizen's right to take part in the country's government, and, in particular, his right to vote and to be elected, his right to personal security, or what is called the inviolability of the person, rights to housing and privacy of correspondence, the right of complaint against the activities of the state organs, the right to defense, and so forth.

The involvement of the working masses in the country's government constitutes the most important right in the political life of our citizens, and the correct and full exercise of this right guarantees the rule of the people in our socialist state. The mere fact that at present 41,324 people's councillors and 162,500 activists under the people's councils participate directly in our country's government, not to mention thousands of specialists in technical councils in enterprises, assistant magistrates, people's prosecutors, voluntary coworkers of the security organs, is a clear indication that modest and ordinary people manage and administer all the affairs of the state. Even in the People's Assembly, made up of 250 deputies, more than 50 percent are workers or sons and daughters of workers, 26 percent are cooperativists and 30 percent are women, while the U.S. Congress, which has in all 535 deputies, includes only 6 workers, 17 blacks, and 21 women, while the remainder are bankers and millionaires.

It is precisely for these reasons that bourgeois politicians and ideologists and their revisionist supporters pass over basic political and social rights and freedoms in silence, while concentrating their firepower on certain political rights and freedoms of a derivative and speculative character which, in the final analysis, do not threaten the dominance of the exploiting minority of the populace. However, even these declared rights and freedoms, such as freedom of speech, thought, and conscience, and the right to strike and demonstrate, are in practice denied and not exercised. For instance, when the demonstrations of blacks in the United States last year grew in strength, the U.S. authorities suppressed them by force. In neighboring Yugoslavia, a single strike at Stari Trg became the pretext for dozens of killings, hundreds of arrests, and the most varied kinds of persecution in Kosovo. Gorbachev's perestroyka in the Soviet Union, which shouts so loudly about reintroducing human rights and freedoms, responded in the same way to demonstrations in Georgia and Azerbaijan.

When it is a matter of human rights and democracy, the bourgeoisie praises to the skies pluralism of ideas and the existence of many parties. The creation of chaos in ideology and in the internal organization of the masses of the people is precisely one of the methods the bourgeoisie uses to ensure a capitalist order, as in Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union, and so forth. Under certain conditions and in certain countries, the existence of many parties has played a positive part in the struggle for

democracy, but the two phenomena can by no means be equated. Real and genuine democracy is not determined by the number of parties, but by the role played and the rights enjoyed by the working masses in society.

It is a fact that almost throughout the bourgeois and revisionist world, the various parties, regardless of their diversity of titles, have sunk to the level of a group of bosses who act according to definite interests and opportunities, while the masses of their members have virtually no part to play and are merely manipulated at election time and in referendums. Nevertheless, a deafening propaganda campaign is being waged in the world today, for the purposes of deception, on the topics of freedom of conscience, belief, and religion. The chorus has been joined by the pope in Rome, the U.S. President, and the enemies of socialism in Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere. The issue is not precisely citizens' freedom of conscience and religion, but freedom for religious organization in society and the revival of the Catholic or Orthodox churches in countries where they have lost their influence, with the sole aim of using them as "Trojan horses" to manipulate the working masses.

In our country, the working masses themselves have solved the problem of freedom of belief and religion. Everybody is free to believe or not to believe in any religion, and nobody is persecuted for religious belief. It must be stressed that it is precisely in capitalist countries that communists are persecuted for their beliefs, and progressive parties operate underground, naturally upsetting the bourgeoisie.

Of course, despite the successes which have been achieved, the last word has not been said in the sphere of the exercise of citizens' rights and freedoms. Some matters could be refined in the field of legal regulation and particularly in the struggle against restrictive and conservative thinking, false conceptions of the interests of society and the general bureaucracy, which is not uncommonly evident among us. "Encouraging initiative, tighter control by the masses, and their active involvement in the discussion of every problem connected with the country's progress and the enforcement of the party line," Comrade Ramiz Alia says, "can upset and make problems for nobody but bureaucrats and people who want to impose their authority with peremptory commands."

In the final analysis, any appraisal of the state of human rights and freedoms in a society depends, not on their formal declaration, but on the level of their realization in everyday life. The entire problem depends on what kind of relationship exists between the acceptance of an individual's rights and freedoms and the legal and material guarantees that bring them to life. [passage omitted]

It is worth emphasizing that large-scale decay of the judicial order is typical of the bourgeois-revisionist world today, especially organized and professional crime. To illustrate this, it is worth mentioning that the rate of violent crimes against citizens in 1988 was about 11 per 100,000 inhabitants, while the figures for violent crime in Yugoslavia last year were 75 per 100,000, or about seven times greater. Rates per 100,000 inhabitants were 56 in 108 in Greece, 174 in Britain, and 292 in the FRG. Writing about violent crimes against citizens in the Soviet Union in the periodical SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO of November 1988, the candidate of legal sciences Pobegaylo states: "Tens of thousands of violent crimes against citizens are committed every year. It is not by chance that under current conditions an individual's personal security is a first-hand indicator of the quality of life."

With the lives and freedoms of individuals so insecure, citizens in these countries cannot exercise even the minimum of the rights and freedoms that are so noisily trumpeted in the pages of the press and from the rostrums of conferences by the chiefs of the bourgeoisie and revisionist cliques.

Thus, extending the rights and freedoms of all citizens will continue to largely depend on strengthening the development of the judicial order, and the level of respect for and enforcement of our socialist legislation. "Working people," Comrade Ramiz Alia stresses, "do not simply love democracy in general and in theory. They love genuine democracy in the service of the people's needs."

Bekteshi Extolls TU Role in Building Socialism

AU1402180490

[Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 12 February publishes on pages 1 and 2 a 2,000-word report on a speech by Besnik Bekteshi, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee Politburo member, at a meeting held in Korce on 11 February to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian Trade Unions.

After extolling the role played by the trade unions in the construction of socialism under the leadership of the AWP, Bekteshi stresses that "the workers class has always exercised its real power and has never allowed and will never allow regressive processes like those in East Europe to happen in Albania." He then goes on to outline the tasks arising from the decisions of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum "for the further revolutionization of the life of the party and of all the country." He adds: "The workers class and all the people have welcomed these decisions because they guarantee that socialist continuity and the country's freedom and independence will proceed along the correct road that our people, led by our party, have chosen for themselves."

Economic Progress Report for 11-17 Feb

AU1702194790

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 11-17 February carries the

following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Diber District: The industrial production plan for January was exceeded by 10 percent. (1900 GMT 11 Feb 90)

Durres District: The export plan up to 15 February has been exceeded by nine percent. (1900 GMT 17 Feb 90)

Fier District: The industrial production plan up to 10 February was fulfilled by 103.4 percent. (1900 GMT 13 Feb 90)

Gjirokaster District: The general industrial production plan up to 10 February was exceeded by one percent. (1900 GMT 15 Feb 90)

Kolonje District: The industrial production plan up to 10 February was exceeded by 232,000 leks. (1900 GMT 13 Feb 90)

Kukes District: The overall industrial production plan for January was exceeded by 2.9 million leks. (1900 GMT 11 Feb 90)

Librazhd District: The overall industrial output plan up to 10 February was exceeded by 450,000 leks and the export plan by 830,000 leks. (1900 GMT 15 Feb 90)

Permet District: The industrial production plan up to 5 February was exceeded by two percent. (1900 GMT 12 Feb 90)

Pogradec District: The general industrial production plan up to 10 February was overfulfilled by 500,000 leks. (1900 GMT 13 Feb 90)

Tirana District: The general industrial output plan for the period up to 10 February was overfulfilled by 1.2 percent. (1900 GMT 12 Feb 90)

Commentary Criticizes Skopje Rally

AU2102143090 Sofia BTA in English 1321 GMT 21 Feb 90

["Skopje and Belgrade Are Breaking an Open Door"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA commentary by Nikola Kitsevski)—At a time when borders are disappearing in Europe, rifts are reopening in the Balkans, judging by yesterday's rally held in Skopje under the motto "Solidarity and Support for Macedonians in Bulgaria."

The scenario is all too familiar. Some time ago it was tried out against Greece. A flood of press stories, a crescendo of formal "messages" and "protests" at an increasingly higher level and, finally, a "spontaneous" outpouring of stage-managed "popular" feelings. What is the idea and what is the target of all this? The official speakers, including a member of the top state leadership, claimed that the crowd had gathered to express support for the demands of "the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia and in the rest of Bulgaria to be given back their national and human rights, as well as the freedoms they enjoyed as a national minority in the years after World War II." The protests zeroed in on what was described as the "forcible policy of the Bulgarian Government which has not changed with respect to that minority even after November 10."

Bulgaria is totally unaware of such demands and coercion, word about which must have reached Skopje. If Skopje and Belgrade are really seeking just to secure somebody the right to free national self-identification, they are breaking an open door: The new Bulgarian leadership has declared its readiness to respect every Bulgarian citizen's right to free choice of ethnic identity. The opposition forces in Bulgaria share this stand.

Obviously, the Skopje leadership's motives for this reiterated "concern" lie elsewhere: in an explosive mixture of endeavours to get over complexes and efforts to achieve the lacking internal consolidation by reviving the "enemy image."

At the time, when a wrong policy was coercively implemented under Stalin's dictates, the portraits of Gotse Delchev, of Dame Gruev and of Yane Sandanski on the walls of the schools in Pirin Macedonia were replaced by portraits of Tito and Lazar Kolishevski.

Yesterday, the portrait of Gotse Delchev was given "a place of honour" next to the portrait of Tito at the rally in Skopje. The idea was probably to protect the former from Sofia's alleged encroachments. It is no use arguing as to who encroaches on whom and whom does Gotse Delchev belong to. It would be more useful and better for us all if we awake to the profoundly relevant essence of his pronouncement: "I conceive of the world solely as a field of cultural competition among the peoples."

Fatherland Front Declaration on Macedonian Issue

AU2102193690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] The National Council of the Fatherland Front has adopted a declaration, which expresses alarm and puzzlement with the fact that the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, an organization that should have more than any other organization cooperated by all means to strengthen good-neighborly relations and cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, became the initiator and organizer of public anti-Bulgarian rallies and distorts the historical truth.

We are surprised, the declaration reads, that after the closer and more normal relations between the Fatherland Front and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, which were established in recent years, now once again hostile actions have been initiated. We would like to believe that the Socialist Alliances of the Working People of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Yugoslavia will grasp the fatal consequences of the campaign that was initiated and will return to a policy of peace, cooperation, and understanding.

Environment, Culture Ministers Appointed

AU2102192290 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 21 Feb 90

(Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—By a decree of the State Council Prof. Dr. Aleksandur Aleksandrov has been appointed minister of environment.

Prof. Krustyu Goranov Ankov has been appointed minister of culture.

Prof. Dr. Aleksandur Kharalanov Aleksandrov was born is Stara Zagora on September 24, 1938. He graduated from the Higher Institute of Forestry and Woodworking, Sofia. He worked at a forestry enterprise, at an experimental base on coniferous forests and at the Institute of Forests, director of which he became in 1989. He has specialized in Denmark and the United States.

Prof. Krustyu Goranov Ankov was born in Pernik on September 26, 1931. He is a graduate of the Philosophy Department of Moscow University. He worked at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, at the Institute of Philosophy, the Institute of Sociology and at the Institute of Art Studies.

In 1971-1976 he was director of the Institute of Culture. In 1976-1981 he was rector of the Higher Institute of Drama Art in Sofia.

In 1984 he was elected corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He became a member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in 1956. He is the author of works in the field of arts and sociology of art.

Dimitrov, Zhelev Want Roundtable 26 Feb

AU2102142090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] On 21 February at the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Memorial Building, a meeting took place between Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], and Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF].

They exchanged opinions on the situation in the country. The BZNS and the UDF think that the roundtable talks could be resumed on 26 February, and that the agreement on the political system, reached at the contact group, could be signed on that occasion.

UDF's Zhelev Said To Withdraw From Roundtable

AU2102111790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Roundtable's Feet Are To Be Shortened"]

[Text] Sofia, 19 February (RABOTNICHESKO DELO's own report)—The Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] is dissatisfied with the rank of the opposite side's representatives. This was announced by a UDF representative who wished to preserve his anonymity.

According to his report, the UDF insists that the head of state, the prime minister, and the top leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union sit at the roundtable. For this reason, the UDF allegedly intends to send lower-ranking representatives.

According to the same source, Zhelyu Zhelev supposedly suffers from a disease which calls for medical treatment in Paris, as a result of which he will withdraw from the roundtable for health reasons.

Mladenov Consults With Political Leaders

Trade Union Leader Petkov

AU2002194590 Sofia BTA in English 1925 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—At the meeting today of Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, with Prof. Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, particular attention was paid to the current economic crisis and to the ways out of it. The sides agreed that it is increasingly clear that Bulgaria can only overcome the crisis with the united efforts of everybody towards full democratization of society, extending to its economic development. An emphasis was laid on the need to create conditions to guarantee the working people's social security in the implementation of the economic reform.

Mr Mladenov and Prof. Petkov considered the opportunities to settle industrial disputes without resorting to extreme measures. In this connection, they reached the conclusion that the building of a state committed to the rule of law has to be speeded up with the passage of relevant laws and mechanisms regulating social relations.

Petkov Statement on Meeting

AU2002215290 Sofia BTA in English 2049 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Prof. Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, told the press here today after conferring with Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, that they had focused on the crisis and its management.

Prof. Petkov said he had voiced the confederation's concern over the procrastination of the roundtable talks. "Without apportioning blame, I think that both political forces share the responsibility and that they are too slow in narrowing down their differences."

The trade unions recommend that the talks go ahead as soon as possible with a discussion on the economic situation without downgrading the debate on the political system.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov said that in his view the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] should take a more radical stand at the roundtable discussion.

"We want an immediate withdrawal of the Communist Party branches from the enterprises. Moreover, we have information that at most places these branches are inoperative," Prof. Krustyu Petkov said.

BCP's Lilov, BZNS' Dimitrov

AU1902223190 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 19 (BTA)—Today Mr Petur Mladenov, State Council president started consultations with the leaders of the major political and social forces in Bulgaria. The aim of these political talks is to seek mutually acceptable solutions for the most pending problems of national character to the interest of deepening of the democratic process in this country. The State Council president will consult with his interlocutors on three groups of problems with key significance: The assessment of the present political and economic situation, the ways for an outcome, the concepts of the various parties and movements for the further democratic changes in Bulgaria.

The first meeting was with Mr Aleksandur Lilov, the chairman of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Aleksandur Lilov exchanged thoughts about the country's state and the need of joint stabilizing actions of the sociopolitical life, which should

bring to the forefront the interests of the whole country. It was stressed that the round of talks of the head of state can have a vital role for overcoming the differences and finding of common ground in their positions. The aim of these meetings is not to replace the national roundtable. They are intended to play the role of a parallel type of a dialogue, which should help the participants find a common language for solving the issues of vital significance for the survival and prosperity of the Bulgarian people and state.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov highly assessed the idea of the State Council for launching of inter-party contacts, which will make easier the achievement of such type of understanding. He stressed that the BCP course towards a wide social dialogue and cooperation is steady and the party will not swerve from it.

In the afternoon Mr Petur Mladenov met with Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS).

Some assessments were made about the country's state. Mr Petur Mladenov expressed his grown concern about the development of the processes of renewal. The interlocutors agreed that the situation is continuing to be complicated, and this mainly refers to the state of the economy and ecology. Special attention was paid to the state of the Bulgarian village which was traditionally one of the decisive spheres in national economy. Mr Angel Dimitrov hailed the State Council president's initiative to carry consultations as expedient and constructive. During the talks they considered the possible ways for an outcome of the crisis situations which have been outlined lately. An agreement was reached that the keeping of the peaceful character of the transition from the command and administrative system to a democratic civic society and a multi-party political system is a prerequisite for an outcome of these situations. Here it will be significant to avoid all kinds of actions which could bring to destabilization of the situation.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Angel Dimitrov stresses [as received] the decisive role which the accelerated development of the process of democracy in the country will play for Bulgaria's future. They stressed that its hampering could bring the people to new heavy trials. The political moves in the next week should concentrate on the achievement of approaches which will be accepted by everybody and to the adoption of laws which will give a new impetus to democracy in Bulgaria.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 19 February carries an almost identical item on Mladenov's consultations with Aleksandur Lilov and Angel Dimitrov, adding that "tomorrow Petur Mladenov will hold a meeting with Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces."]

Lilov Briefs Press on Talks

AU1902180890 Sofia BTA in English 1700 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 19 (BTA)—"We take a positive view of the one hundred days since November 10 as they set the beginning of Bulgaria's very vigorous progress along the road of democracy," Mr Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council, told the press today after he was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, in the first in a series of the head of state's consultations with the leaders of the principal political and public forces in the country.

Mr Lilov said Mr Mladenov recommended and the BCP agreed that bilateral consultations should begin between the principal political forces in the country on a search of a way out of the crisis.

The BCP is seeking dialogue and it will not revise this policy. "We will be abiding by it unswervingly, constructively and flexibly," Mr Lilov emphasized. "We believe that national interests should now be placed before party interests. When I say party interests, I mean all parties in the country, the BCP included," he pointed out.

Mr Aleksander Lilov said that the matter of political parties' workplace branches is not confined to the disbandment of the BCP organizations. Communists take a broader view of the problem and urge that production units by no means become a scene of political strife.

In a radio interview yesterday Mr Lilov said that the new BCP leadership does not oppose the decisions of a number of BCP branches in enterprises and offices which recently disbanded themselves.

Mr Lilov does not think that the consultations with the State Council president can replace the roundtable discussions. The BCP believes that the roundtable talks are a very serious political forum if all participants are sufficiently aware of their responsibility to the nation. "We must go ahead from a political monologue to a genuine constructive dialogue which should seek a political solution to the problems rather than a political effect," he pointed out.

Lilov Interviewed on Consultations

AU2102143490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party, by unidentified RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, following Lilov's consultations with State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov in Sofia on 19 February: "Peaceful Road Toward Democracy"]

[Text] [Lilov] The head of state wishes to stimulate the democratization process, which began in our country following 10 November 1989, through his meetings with political forces in Bulgaria. I told him that our party's

evaluation of the country's situation following the 100 days of democratic development is positive. While this is a brief historical period, it was exceptionally dynamic and was characterized by an unprecedented political upsurge.

Our political maturity, political qualifications, political flexibility, and political responsibility are facing a decisive test, and this applies to all political parties, but, above all, to our own party.

The topical question of the day is the following: Is the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in a position to respond to the requirements of Bulgaria's present development? Are the other political parties in a position to do so?

We are facing a long and difficult path of development before we can reach a truly humanitarian, truly democratic, socialist society and build up a law-governed state. Many things, including changes within our own party, are required in order to achieve this goal.

Will the political forces existing in our country be capable of responding to this challenge? Like all our people I am waiting and searching for an answer to this question. This question applies to all parties in our country and none of them can avoid it. Every party is expected to provide an answer to this question.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] The question is about the roundtable talks and about your evaluation of them, especially considering the fact that public opinion increasingly describes the roundtable as "empty?"

[Lilov] The initial stage of the roundtable negotiations was positive. This was a political success per se. It is an undeniable fact that all the country's political forces are participating in the talks. Nevertheless, the roundtable is expected to accomplish the next step—namely, to engage in specific tasks, to work in a constructive spirit, and to adopt a professional approach in analyzing the economic, political, and social problems, and in seeking solutions for them. National priorities should prevail over party priorities, over party interests—this is the unmistakable priority which the roundtable should observe. However, I am optimistic and confident that the roundtable will justify our hopes.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Could you sum up the Communist Party's main goal in one sentence?

[Lilov] It is our goal to ensure a peaceful development of the democratization process. I quite unmistakably defined this view during my talk with the head of state, and I categorcally stated this fact. We are excluding any other alternative for the development of this process because it would be disastrous for the people.

Clashes are not impossible—let us not delude ourselves. If we should allow the existing tensions between different parties and political forces to deteriorate and the controversies to get out of control, such clashes would be possible. We live in the Balkan Peninsula and we should realize that the danger of such clashes is much greater in this area than elsewhere. Therefore, all parties should engage in the same efforts.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Will the party alone rescue the country from the economic crisis?

[Lilov] This requires the efforts of all parties. We should jointly discuss the economic methods, the existing internal resources, and opportunities for economic assistance from abroad. We are working on a program which is likely to guarantee the protection of the weaker social strata among our population, while the burden of difficulties awaiting us within the forthcoming period should be carried by the more prosperous social groups.

UDF's Zhelyu Zhelev

AU2002143290 Sofia BTA in English 1328 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, today received the leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

They analysed important problems of the situation in the country. Special attention was paid to the economy and the structure of the state and the political system.

Mr. Mladenov underlined the necessity of placing the national interests before narrow party interests by directing all energies to stabilize the economy and guarantee the legal order. The two interlocutors agreed that the peaceful transition to a civil society and a market economy is the only reasonable alternative and that it is the duty of all participants in political life to act constructively and responsibly.

Dr. Zhelev stated the position of the UDF on some key problems of the social development in general and of the national round table talks in particular. He underlined that the UDF will back up the actions of the authorities and the cabinet which will really help improve the economic and the political atmosphere. In this connection Dr. Zhelev hailed Mr. Mladenov's initiative to hold consultations with the public and political forces, assessing it as a contribution to the achievement of national consensus, which is of primary importance for Bulgaria now. The shared opinion was expressed that this initiative is not a replacement of the national roundtable talks as a form of conducting a dialogue, on the contrary, it will help create the conditions which would make its work more efficient.

The president of the State Council, Mr. Petur Mladenov, today received Mr. Rosen Karadimov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League.

They discussed the problem of young people's role in the processes of renewal. Mr. Mladenov pointed out that without the active participation of the young generation

Bulgaria could not tackle the important tasks it has got to carry out on the road to establishing a new democratic and just society.

Zhelev Interviewed on Meeting

AU2002115590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Unidentified correspondent's report on meeting between Bulgarian State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov and Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, including recorded remarks by Zhelev following meeting in Sofia on 20 February]

[Text] Petur Mladenov, chairman of the State Council, continued his meetings with leaders of political parties today. Following yesterday's meetings with Aleksandur Lilov and Angel Dimitrov, he met Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces today. [words indistinct]

[Begin recording] [Zhelev] [passage indistinct] What bothers me is the obstruction of the roundtable. In my opinion, the roundtable talks are delayed, things are dragged out, and this is entirely the Communist Party's fault. The delay of the roundtable talks simply halts the solution of important problems that should be resolved as soon as possible. We could have signed the political agreement, about which a dispute is now under way, as early as 20 days or one month ago, and then adopt all draft laws that are expected to be discussed prior to the beginning of the National Assembly session. They are very important draft laws, such as: The draft law on amendments and addenda to the Constitution; the draft law on the parties; the draft law on the forms of ownership; the new election law; and others. Now there is simply no time for all this. These developments give rise to suspicion among numerous citizens, let alone that of the opposition, that all this is done on purpose so that we will be prevented from discussing these questions, these exceptionally important draft laws in advance, for the simple reason that we have no time, and that we should be forced to accept a fait accompli. For this reason, we would like to say again that the Communist Party is obstructing the roundtable and trying to underrate its importance.

Statements made by other people yesterday show the attempt to discredit the roundtable to one or another extent. I think that the roundtable could and should play a very important role, as the experience of several East European countries has shown. This is how problems should be resolved. We do not need any private talks, we do not need invitiations to join this and that National Assembly commission, in which representatives of the opposition are supposed to participate.

It is at the roundtable where all political forces are represented, in the eyes of our entire public, that our society's important political problems should be discussed and resolved.

As for the contact group which is meeting almost daily and which is functioning, we managed to reach some kind of agreement on certain occasions. Later, however, when the final text was submitted to the Bulgarian Communist Party leadership—this is my own impression at least—the agreement was sent back for discussion, and the question of disbanding the party organizations in workplaces was either entirely rejected, or at least not accepted in the categorical form in which all these problems should be resolved.

As for the current consultations with the head of state, they are of a general and noncommittal nature. Nevertheless, they are consultations which the head of state is holding with representatives of the different political trends, and such problems cannot be discussed in that place, although Petur Mladenov promised that he would encourage the development of things concerning the roundtable as far as he is able.

[Unidentified correspondent] To the question about bilateral contacts between different parties—namely, between the Union of Democratic Forces and the other parties—Zhelyu Zhelev answered as follows:

[Zhelev] Personally, I think that such contacts should not be established for the time being, as long as the roundtable talks have not marked any progress, and as long as the Communist Party is obstructing the roundtable. This is my personal opinion, and if things should depend on me, I would not participate in such talks.

On the subject of elections, which was also touched upon, I once again repeated the opposition's view, to the effect that elections should take place at the end of 1990, considering that this would make it possible to establish equal conditions for the opposition's participation in the elections. As a matter of fact, considering that the elections are planned for May 1990, we could not speak of our participation on an equal basis, since it would be impossible for us to prepare within these two months. We neither have the necessary apparatus available to us, nor any adequate propaganda material, let alone the financial basis. [end recording]

Fatherland Front Chairman Ganev

AU2102104290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov is continuing his consultations with the leaders of the main political and public forces in the country. The guarantee for the irreversibility of the restructuring of social life in Bulgaria is the active involvement in this of all Bulgarian citizens, irrespective of their party affiliation.

This topic was at the center of attention at today's exchange of views between the chairman of the State Council and Ginyo Ganev, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council. Only on a broad, mass basis, with the participation of all interested parties, is it

possible to guarantee the expansion of the democratization of social life and to ensure a peaceful, steady transition toward the construction of a law-governed, humane state.

The two leaders discussed the possibilities for reviving the best traditions of the Fatherland Front and involving the movement even more effectively in the process of forming national unity and concord. The chairman of the State Council will continue his consultations this afternoon.

Women's Alliance Cochairperson

AU2102193090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] On 21 February, State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov met Nora Ananieva, cochairperson of the Preparatory Committee on Establishing the Democratic Women's Alliance. This is what she said after the meeting:

[Begin Ananieva recording] I personally expressed the opinion that the elections should not be postponed for the simple reason that a parliament must enjoy the populace's confidence. For certain reasons the current parliament does not enjoy such confidence.

I disagree with the thesis of certain circles at the roundtable, who view the roundtable as some kind of superparliamentary institution, which can review and adopt all draft laws. This contradicts the elementary principles of law and politics. However, one way or another, a parliament must enjoy sufficient public trust. Otherwise it would not be able to mobilize the people and implement the measures that it adopts. Therefore, I think that any postponement of the elections would further undermine public confidence and would produce additional negative attitudes, exacerbate party passions, and strengthen nihilism. Nobody will benefit from this. We cannot delay the anticrisis program and the implementation of many measures that could soon bring us to the other shore. [end recording]

BZNS Leader Drenchev

AU2102195890 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 21 Feb 90

["For Democratic Elections Which Should Not Impede Economic Reforms"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—If elections are held in May, there will not be a true expression of the people's will, Mr. Milan Drenchev, leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian National Union—BZNS), stated today before journalists after his meeting with State Council President Petur Mladenov. Past fears have not been overcome yet, especially in the countryside, the opposition is not ready. If the elections are held in spring, they will not be fully democratic; if they are held in autumn (which is the wish of the opposition), the positive economic reforms will be delayed. According to the opposition leader the elections should be timed in such a way as to meet the requirements both for democracy and for rapid economic reforms.

The leadership of the Nikola Petkov BZNS has not discussed the question of whether it will seek a coalition for the elections, if they are held in May. It still considers that it is possible to postpone the elections a little. Mr. Drenchev did not rule out the possibility of the Nikola Petkov BZNS' taking part in the elections with a common list together with the other parties and organizations of the Union of Democratic Forces.

Finding a way out of the complicated problems that the country faces is beyond the powers of one party or a certain stratum of the people. These problems can be settled only by common efforts. If a path to common actions is not found, the crisis will deepen, specially in the field of economy, Mr. Drenchev stated.

In his view the roundtable will resume its work and it would be to the interest of all political forces. There is no other institution which could be so useful for Bulgaria now. The Government and the opposition should join hands in finding solution to the complicated problems. He expressed his hope that the problem of disbanding the primary BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] organizations will be solved and the roundtable talks will go on.

By participating in the roundtable talks the opposition can make its constructive contribution to the settlement of the country's problems, the leader of the Nikola Petkov BZNS pointed out.

More on Talks, Statement Awaited

AU2202102490 Sofia BTA in English 2154 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, today received Dr. Milan Drenchev, leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party. They exchanged views on the establishment of a new political system in Bulgaria which would give scope for political expression to the multiparty system and the democratic forms. It was underlined that now much work and tolerance are needed to achieve stability during the transition to new socio-political structures and to get ready for free and democratic elections. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Bulgarian countryside. The two sides discussed the possibilities for its economic revival and prosperity.

Dr. Milan Drenchev pointed out that his party is ready to contribute to the further democratization of Bulgaria.

State Council President Petur Mladenov received the leaders of the preparatory committee for the foundation of a democratic women's union in Bulgaria: Prof. Dr. Nora Ananieva, Ms. Emiliya Kostova and Ms. Genoveva Mikhova. They discussed a number of problems related to overcoming the crisis, paying special attention

to the social guarantees, health care and education that the young generation should be provided with.

Mr. Mladenov underlined that the state leadership is ready to work for the rapid settlement of these problems. He pointed out that the Bulgarian women can play an important constructive role in the process of accelerated democratization of Bulgarian society.

At a meeting of Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, with the leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Dr. Petur Dertliev, an assessment was made of the complicated and contradictory situation in the economic and political life of the country. They discussed the possible ways of overcoming the crisis.

Dr. Petur Dertliev stated the views of his party on the key problems of Bulgaria's socio-economic development.

Assurance was expressed that by joint efforts the country can overcome the present difficult period and build a democratic and prosperous society.

This was the last of the series of consultations held by the president of the State Council with the leaders of the major public and political forces in the country. Mr. Mladenov is expected to make a statement in which he will summarize the results of the consultations.

Social Democrat Leader Wants Nov Elections

AU2202115790 Sofia BTA in English 0813 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Dr. Petur Dertliev, insists that elections should be held in November. In connection with the economic situation in the country he pointed out that besides holding talks, action should be taken to gather all competent people, irrespective of the circles they are representatives of.

Last night, in a statement made before journalists after his meeting with Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, Dr. Dertliev said that the political crisis can be overcome if the roundtable intensifies its work and makes decisions. He is for a civilized dialogue, which means that the negation of opponents should not prevail; although it is an unavoidable element in a political fight, whenever the respective side is negating something it should be clear as to its "pros." Commenting on the journalists' opinion that he is rather laconic, he said that the shortcoming of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] is their talking too much and that the Bulgarians will start working when they learn to talk less.

Havel Meets Press Following Congressional Address

LD2202111790 Prague CTK in English 0855 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Washington Feb 22 (CTK Correspondent)—"No, I did not," Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel answered in English after the only question given to him in Czech at a news conference after his address at the seat of the American Congress yesterday.

The question was whether he had a stage-fright on the tribune of the House of Representatives. "If I were nervous any time when doing something important, I probably would not do much," Vaclav Hacvel added in Czech.

The journalists burst into laughter which could be heard several times during the conference in an incredibly overcrowded room.

The president faced the "interrogation" of American newsmen in his typical quiet, inconspicuous way with profound knowledge of facts. "Give us time. We must solve two million problems a day and cannot solve everything at once," he said in answer to a caustic question why the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington still represents Cuba when the Czechoslovak president calls so vigorously for morality in politics. "When I was elected president, all ambassadors in Prague smiled at me and offered their congratulations. All but one: the Cuban. He probably knew why," the president said.

"You are the first foreign statemen who did not use his address in the American Congress for asking the American people for concrete assistance. Why did you decide to speak instead of that about general and moral problems?" One journalist asked. "Because this was just the matter I wanted to speak about," the president reacted.

Vaclav Havel said that Czechoslovakia's nonparticipation in the talks of the two German states and the four victorious powers on the unification of Germany does not make troubles to Czechoslovakia, but it understands Poland's concerns in this connection.

Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia considers the two plus four talks a preliminary stage to be followed by a definitive all-European settlement with Czechoslovakia taking part in it.

Speaking about his opinion on the necessity of the deployment of American soldiers on European territory, the president underlined that "they guarantee freedom at the moment," but said he could not know whether this would be valid in six months or two years.

Havel Emphasizes Importance of Council of Europe

AU1702152790 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 16 Feb 90 p 5

[Report on interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jan Riebesehl; place and date not given]

[Text] On 15 January, the CSSR applied for a special guest status in the Council of Europe. Parliamentary Assembly President Anders Bjoerk visited Prague to discuss the preconditions for guest status with representatives of the new CSSR leadership. In an interview with DIE WELT, President Vaclav Havel commented on the Council of Europe's importance for the CSSR.

[Riebesehl] In your talks with Anders Bjoerk, did you discuss the possibility of the CSSR's full membership in the Council of Europe?

[Havel] So far we have applied for the guest status, the first step toward full membership, so to speak. This status will be granted to my country for the sessions of the Parliamentary Assemblies as of May, if I understood it correctly.

Of course we also discussed the question of full membership. Right now I cannot say anything specific on this topic. However, I would like to emphasize that we had a most substantive conversation. There was fundamental agreement in almost all spheres.

Thus I am happy to tell you that I gladly accepted President Bjoerk's invitation to go to Strasbourg on 19 May 1990 and to address the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

[Riebesehl] What does membership in the Council of Europe mean for you?

[Havel] I have extensively studied the question of the respect for human rights, and thus also the work of the Council of Europe. However, I do not believe that most people in my country are aware of this. Most of my fellow citizens, in particular the former dissidents, are familiar with the Helsinki Agreement. Nevertheless, I believe that the people in Western Europe are much less familiar with this agreement, because they can rely on the protection provided by the European Human Rights Convention.

We have to rethink if we want to return to Europe, and we must be aware that through the conventions, which have been established by the Council of Europe, we can rely on a good legal foundation, which will permit us to develop our state in the spirit of democracy and the rule of law.

As I said before, I have studied the question of the respect for human rights for a long time, and I will continue to do so. It does not matter whether I do this after the elections in June of this year from the position of president or as a private person and writer. In connection with the question of our return to Europe, one

ought to mention that we have just appointed a deputy minister for European Affairs.

[Riebesehl] One has the feeling that many of your fellow citizens want to establish an intellectual association between you and Tomas G. Masaryk, a president in the first republic. Does this mean that the CSSR of today is a continuation of the old republic, or do you want to create a new one?

[Havel] Many years have elapsed since the time of the First Republic. I think that a certain feeling of nostalgia is responsible for this association. However, one must not forget that one cannot go back in history, but that one can only follow its course. We can and ought to be inspired by Masaryk's model for the emergence of our democracy. However, we cannot copy his work, because we cannot return to the old days. What we create now must fit into the realities of our time, and it must meet the challenges of today.

Of course I know that many people have compared me with President Masaryk; in fact, I have seen my picture next to his in several places. However, I do not like being compared or associated with him. I was elected president due to an emergency situation, as a transitory solution. History will show that I only played a minor role in the history of our country compared to President Masaryk.

Further Developments on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

Slimak Releases Withdrawal Dates

LD2202115390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory will commence on 26 February in the military garrisons Frenstat pod Radhostem and Krnov. This was announced today at the news conference in Prague by Major General Anton Slimak, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff. The first stage of the withdrawal of Central Group of Soviet Forces from Czechoslovakia should end by 30 May. [Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1130 GMT on 22 February in a similar report adds "The last Soviet soldiers from Frenstat should cross the borders on 13 March and those from Krnov on 25 March. The first stage of the withdrawal of the Central Group of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia should be completed by 30 May."]

Soviet Diplomats Questioned

LD1602141490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The INDEPENDENT YOUTH PRESS AGENCY organized a news conference today. Lubos Lidicky reports:

[Begin Lidicky recording] The main point of the news conference is the departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, as well as other commercial, economic, and political relations. Therefore, it is no wonder that the press conference is continuing. Journalists' questions are being answered by Vasiliy Filipov, political attache, and Oleg Lushnikov, economic attache, of the USSR Embassy. As for the most interesting question, departure of Soviet troops, a group of lawyers is having talks in Moscow and a group of experts on technical problems is in session in Prague. What is involved here, above all, is the transfer of Soviet troops overloading Czechoslovak railways.

The departure should commence in the next few days, and a considerable portion of the troops should have left our territory by May. According to Mr. Filipov, there is a technical hindrance, namely that Soviet troops will be leaving Hungary at the same time. A question was asked as to how many family members of Soviet soldiers there are in Czechoslovakia at the moment—about 16,000 families—and the same number of children, who also are attending schools here. Apartments and military objects will be handed over to Czechoslovakia; nothing will be dismantled.

Another question was asked about the number of KGB members in our country: It has been reduced to six, including the driver, Mr. Lushnikov said.

The coming visit of President Vaclav Havel to Moscow also was discussed. A four-hour conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev is envisaged. Our president will be accompanied by a large group of experts, and a meeting with artists and economic experts is being planned. [end recording]

Legality of Troop Presence Termed 'Invalid'

LD2102230690 Prague CTK in English 2117 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—Deputy Director of the International-Legal Department of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Gabriel Brenka told CTK today that legal provisions concerning the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia have been invalid since the beginning.

He said that the Czechoslovak delegation at the talks between Czechoslovak and Soviet experts on the Soviet troops withdrawal holds, on the basis of the direction approved by the Czechoslovak Government, a clear stand that the stay of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory has no legal basis. The two sides therefore take into consideration the actual state.

As the legal provisions concerning the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia have been invalid since the beginning, an agreement on their withdrawal that would be signed in the nearest future does not mention the bilateral agreements signed in 1968 and 1969. It takes into consideration the statement of the Czechoslovak Government of December 3, 1989 and the statement of the Soviet Government of December 3, 1989, according

to which the entry of the Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 was the violation of international law, Gabriel Banka said.

The proposed agreement on the Soviet troops withdrawal presupposes that, within two years after it comes into force, an agreement of property rights will be signed that will adjust all open questions concerning property.

Economic Leadership Addresses Trade Conference

Komarek on Market Economy

AU1902172190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Zdenek Hoffmann and Josef Vlcek: "Economic Changes Without Earthquake; Congress of Czechoslovak and Foreign Entrepreneurs"]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our correspondents) — Every step toward the market economy is connected with demanding work. The process cannot be rushed, however.

Were the market to start functioning overnight, and were all the redundant elements of our economy to be eliminated all at once, then maybe one-third of today's production for the manufacturing sector would become superfluous and a million workers would lose their jobs. This would have serious social consequences in our society. This was stated by CSSR First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek in the Palace of Culture and Repose in Prague 15 February at the "Commercial Cooperation and Investment Opportunities In Czechoslovakia" congress.

He said, inter alia, that no government can afford to solve accumulated deformations of the economy, no matter how large they may be, by suddenly changing the prices, taxes, grants, and production structure. Neither we can afford to test whether we would survive such an economic earthquake. Moreover, he stressed that the government must contribute to a civilized development in the country. He added that we have in front of us a number of firm steps to make toward a market economy. It is necessary to emphasize at the same time that the transition to a market economy is neither a purpose in itself nor the ultimate goal, but a decisive measure toward restructuring the Czechoslovak Economy, and toward its orientation at modern production and consumption structures.

CSSR Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak said in his speech that some indications of a development diverting from the policy practiced in previous years in Czechoslovak foreign trade had already appeared in the last year. With the introduction of the one-tier rates of exchange at the beginning of last year, the statistical data became somewhat modified. While the volume of exports has not changed, the proportion of exports into the ruble area has dropped to about 61 percent (other countries account for 39 percent of the trade turnover). After the devaluation—or revaluation—of the Czechoslovak koruna at the beginning of this year, we expect the proportion of foreign trade with the ruble area to be about 54 percent, with the other countries accounting for 46 percent. [passage omitted]

Some 1,000 Czechoslovak senior managers and about 500 representatives of foreign companies take part in the congress, which was organized by the Economics College. [passage omitted]

The congress continues Friday.

Klaus Cited on Reform Strategy

LD1602231190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] The International Congress for Trade, Cooperation, and Investment Opportunities in Czechoslovakia continues in the Palace of Culture in Prague. Jana Havligerova reports:

[Begin Havligerova recording] Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus spoke in the opening of today's session. He spoke about our reform strategy of which the key issue is definition of ownership and above all its structure. This is indeed the basis for privatization. Demonopolization of the economy is also necessary and we intend to achieve it by three methods: first by anti-monopoly measures—that is, by administrative dissolution of the existing enterprises; second by the creation of conditions for the entry of private enterpreneurs into the market; and third by opening up the economy to the world, to the competition of foreign firms. The precise rules of this approach should be set in the shortest possible time.

At present Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy federal premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, is speaking about changes in our economy. And this is all for now from the Palace of Culture in Prague. [end recording]

Demonopolization, Privatization Discussed

LD1602231290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The International Congress for Trade, Cooperation, and Investment Opportunities in Czechoslovakia has entered its second day. Here is Barbora Doleckova with a direct report.

[Doleckova] Since the main task of the Congress was to inform representatives of foreign firms and banks about the changes which our economy faces, then one should award top marks to this morning's proceedings.

The main report was delivered first of all by Vaclav Klaus, minister of finance, who in the major points summed up the steps by which the government intends to efficiently achieve a functioning economy. One of the main prerequisites for introducing a competitive market is, as Minister Klaus emphasized, to break up the monopoly structure of our economy. This is, of course, only one side of the coin. The other side, which is of no

lesser importance, is to be aware of the fact that, since we want to create the market, then at issue is not merely the creation of the commodity and service market as seen by the reform at the end of the sixties, but at issue is also the development of the market for means of production, labor, finance, money, capital and foreign currencies. Only the linkage between all these components of the market is able to create a true, competitive atmosphere in the economy.

The report of Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy federal premier, then followed Minister Klaus' speech. He described in brief the government's reform strategy. In this connection he mentioned some fundamental problems which have so far been experienced by the foreign firms working in Czechoslovakia. Great difficulties exist, inter alia, in transferring profits back abroad and in the taxation system. Deputy Premier Dlouhy then said that one of the most important tasks was the change of the ownership structure, in the course of which the main impetus toward privatization must originate from below and no longer from a governmental directive. The government now says that you are able to, it no longer says you must.

Vlaste Stepova, Czech minister of trade and tourism, spoke a little while ago and she mentioned among other things the results of the recent public opinion poll of our citizens.

Klaus Views Prospects of Privatization

AU2202112290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Bata Should Get the Same Treatment as Anyone Else"]

[Text] Prague — Shortly before his departure for North America, Vaclav Klaus, CSSR minister of finance, gave a short interview to the CTK correspondent concerning changes that are being prepared in ownership relations in the economic sphere.

Many changes in ownership relations in Czechoslovakia take place in an unrestrained and unorganized manner. This is facilitated not only by the newly implemented laws but, above all, by the unclear situation — well known is the bargaining over the former property of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This process is completely chaotic, quite unbearable, and results in large economic losses. The government, therefore, is getting ready to make clearly known its position on the delineation of ownership relations in the Czechoslovak economy. For this purpose, an office for national property and privatization will be established soon; this office, which will operate under the Ministry of Finance, will establish basic rules on how to deal with national property and will issue fundamental regulations, principles, and methods for the privatization process. I am not talking here about the size of private property. For the time being, we are talking about the mechanism of the privatization process.

A part of the clarification of ownership relations will also be the settlement of property-related legal issues with the former owners of economic property. The case of T. Bata cannot be taken out of this context. Mr. Bata should get the same treatment as anyone else. It would be premature to talk about details now, the minister said.

Trade Minister Urges Caution on Foreign Trade

AU2102162590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Feb 90 p 2

[Marie Konigova report: "Selling Our Products"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—Last year all foreign trade indicators were fulfilled, with the exception of debt collection. By the end of this year, the percentage of exports to the ruble sphere should amount to 55 percent—as opposed to the current 61 percent. This was stated by Andrej Barcak, CSSR minister for foreign trade, at a meeting of the Federal Assembly's foreign committees.

This year the CSSR will develop its commercial relations with all the traditional countries and will restrict relations with those who, over the long term, do not repay their debts. An increase in foreign capital participation in the CSSR is envisioned. Legislative regulations are under preparation according to which—among other things—goods and commercial entities will be divided into categories. It will be prohibited to export goods of which there is a considerable shortage on the domestic market. In the case of entities capable of developing foreign trade activity, the minister stated that not everyone will be able to conduct business nor will they be able to conduct business with just anyone. Foreign trade enterprises will remain; the right to conduct business will be subject to registration. The condition that a manufacturing enterprise may only trade with its own product (it is reckoned that this will be a product in which it has participated in at least 50 percent of the production) will be a significant restraint.

In an interview with journalists, A. Barcak cautioned against the ill-considered conclusion of foreign trade relations. A growth in foreign companies' activity in the CSSR is desired. However, apart from solid companies, others with dubious reputations are coming to us. He recommended all those who are concluding contacts to first of all thoroughly check their partner's character. Some of the companies—advertised a great deal in the mass information media—as the signs reveal, have almost no assets at their disposal, are spoken for by people who have not been checked out by anyone, and they even produce false business cards: "A gilt-edged business card does not yet mean that its owner has gold. It is often the other way round," he said.

Trade Union Confederation To Replace Movement

LD1602221190 Prague CTK in English 1815 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's only trade union center "Revolutionary Trade Union Movement" will cease to exist at a special congress of Czechoslovak trade unionists on March 2-3, representatives of a commission of the Czechoslovak trade unions for preparations for the congress told newsmen here today.

They stated that at the same time documents will be approved for setting up a new center "Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions."

The new Czechoslovak trade union confederation will be a free association of trade unions which have been created in the country after the November events or as a result of reorganization of the unions existing up to now. Admission of trade unions to the confederation will be voluntary. Members of the confederation should be both trade unions operating in the Czech Socialist Republic or only in the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The situation is complicated to a certain extent by the attitude of some Slovak trade unions which demand establishment of two independent national trade union confederations—Czech and Slovak which would have a joint leading body.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which existed in Czechoslovakia until last year's November events, consisted of 17 trade unions with almost eight million members. Many of these unions associated working peole from various spheres. The revolutionary trade union movement activities were subordinated to the communist party.

After the November 1989 events new trade unions have emerged. Some of the existing ones have been divided into professional unions. At the same time trade unionists voiced mistrust to the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement leadership and the whole trade union structure in Czechoslovakia, and called for establishment of a completely new non-political center to protect their real interests.

Airline Signs Contract With U.S. Company

AU2102153590 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Feb 90 p 1

["(HER)"-signed report: "U.S. Capital at Ruzyne"]

[Text] "We signed the contract in an unbelievable six days!" said Jiri Nulicek, director general of Czechoslovak Airlines [CSA], during a news conference on 19 February in Ruzyne. This contract, which CSA management concluded with the American investment company Credit Swiss First Boston Inc., is a preliminary agreement on conditions for cooperation. And the reasons? Last year, CSA closed its books with a profit of 500 million korunas; despite this, differences in the level of services in comparison to the rest of the world increased to its disadvantage. Now there is interest in Czechoslovakia, both on the part of tourists and on the part of businessmen. Therefore, when Michael Sumichrast, a native of Trencin, came up with an offer to mediate in negotiations between American entrepreneurs and CSA, our airline did not hesitate. CSA's fundamental stake should be the lease of land at current world prices, and foreign companies should participate in the construction of runways for zero visibility, hangars, a hotel, a car park, and a retailing network. The airport's entire infrastructure should be constructed within two to three years. The entire scheme should be specified within six months. We have also found out that the number of flights to the United States will increase to 156 per annum. As of 1 June, CSA will fly to Tel Aviv and negotiations are under way about routes to Toronto and Hamburg.

Minister of Defense Holds News Conference

AU1802135390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Feb 90 p 3

[Alena Borovickova report: "Part of Society"]

[Text] At the start of his meeting with journalists in Prague yesterday, Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister for national defense, briefly evaluated the work carried out by the Czechoslovak Army during the past two months. He resolutely rejected claims that the Army is merely putting on a show or that it is only making cosmetic changes. He stressed that it is fulfilling its tasks under the unusual but, at present, expedient control of the general public. However, the people's negative attitudes toward the Army's military activity, specifically toward professional soldiers, are still palpable.

Steps have already been taken toward rehabilitating soldiers who were dismissed from the Army in 1968-69 in particular, but also in the years 1948-1989. During this period, approximately 5,800 professional soldiers left the Army. So far, approximately 700 people have shown an interest in returning to it.

The influence of airfields on the environment is one of the burning issues which the Army has to contend with at the moment. The minister for national defense stated that the complaints of citizens living in their proximity are justified. Measures were adopted in the past to ensure that the presence of military aircraft disturb the population as little as possible. For example, it is no longer a secret that our pilots fly for 70 flying hours per annum while Americans fly for 250 flying hours per annum. There is a danger, and it is understandable, that they have had much less training than their Western counterparts. It is also necessary to take into consideration the fact that the value of each military airfield is, roughly, two billion korunas and that it is impossible to site them elsewhere.

The Army is willing to reach a compromise with those living in the immediate proximity of military airfields, and wants to offer people the service of its health care facilities and to develop a network providing urgent medical assistance to citizens by making use of helicopters. It is planned to establish summer camps for children from the most vulnerable regions; it will take most of the financial burden on itself...

In reply to a question about the number and future of military exercise areas, the minister for national defense said that at present there are 14 areas amounting to 2,400 square kilometers; however, it would be a mistake to assume that this is all quality agricultural land. There are plans to hand over some of areas (after the disarmament talks in Vienna) to the general public for recreation purposes as they have not been destroyed everywhere.

As far as trade in military technology is concerned, this specifically involves purchases of MiG 29 aircraft from the USSR. Minister Vacek stressed that as long as Czechoslovakia is a member of the Warsaw Pact, it will purchase the necessary technology in the Soviet Union. But within the framework of its cutbacks, it will have to limit these purchases.

Apropos the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the minister for national defense said that at present there are on our territory 73,500 Soviet troops, 1,200 tanks, 2,500 combat vehicles and personnel carriers, and 77 fighter aircraft. There is, and there can be, no talk of their withdrawal within a few days; this should realistically take place during the course of 1990.

Vacek Urges Realistic Approach to Defense

LD2102225890 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek today stresed the necessity to go along the path of state policy in questions of national defence.

Speaking at a meeting of leading functionaries of the Czechoslovak People's Army, which he presided, Miroslav Vacek said that the army must preserve functions for which it was established many decades ago. Changes must be made quickly but not hastily so that possible mistakes are avoided.

A part of the public, several political parties, movements and initiatives come with demands that are unrealistic and do not correspond with the present development in the world or with the material possibilities of the state, Miroslav Vacek said.

The participants in the meeting stressed that the consistent democratization of life in military collectives is a serious and decisive prerequiste in building up the bases of a new and modern army.

Changes to Military Service Rules Considered

LD1602141790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] The Defense and Security Committees of two chambers of the Federal Assembly today discussed an amendment to the Defense Act.

They proposed to the Presidium of the Federal Government that military departments be taken out of civilian universities and that these courses be provided away from university premises for students who show interest in military training.

The committees also proposed that conscription of graduates from theological faculties and of clerics be abolished, and that the national military active service be shortened to 12 months, or to six months in the case of university graduates. The introduction of civilian service should be tackled immediately, separately from the Defense Act.

Civic Forum Investigators Meet Security Official

LD1702231490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Ladislav Lis, chairman of the defense and security committee of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Nations, had a meeting in Prague today with representatives of district Civic Forums in charge of coordinating the work of screening and citizen's commissions which are to investigate the activity of members of operational units of the State Security and leading officials of the Public Security.

In his view, fears that the disbandment of the State Security structure would lead to secret police engaging in activity in illegal structures have been successfully allayed. Civic Forum representatives drew attention, however, to the unclear situation in the command of National Security Corps administrations in certain districts, where commanders from the ranks of the State Security have been replaced by political affairs officers from other districts.

One of the spokesmen stated that former members of the State Security are freely visiting a corrective training institute but no one in Civic Forum knows why.

The participants also noted that the activity of the screening commissions will be complicated by lack of evidence, because in many places written records have been destroyed against the orders of the minister of the interior.

Official Claims State Security 'Paralyzed'

AU2202123090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 19 Feb 90 p 2

["CTK, mat"-signed report: "State Security Corps Under Control"]

[Text] "The fact that the activity of the former structures of State Security [StB] has been paralyzed is one of the

most important steps on the road to revolutionary changes in Czechoslovakia," L. Lis, chairman of the Defense and Security Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Nations, told a meeting of representatives of district Civic Forums on 17 February. Fears that members of the secret police might continue to operate illegally have been dispelled, in his opinion. L. Lis mentioned that 11,000 former StB members have handed in their arms and licenses and are under control. However, the experiences of the Civic Forum representatives present was often different. They pointed out that some National Security Corps [SNB] district chiefs have taken up different posts elsewhere. These cases are dealt with by the screening commission of the Federal Ministry of Interior and further personnel changes can therefore be expected to take place. Once the situation concerning the new SNB chiefs becomes clear, screening commissions in individual districts will start their work. They will examine not only the activity of former StB members but also the activity of ranking Public Security Corps personnel. The bodies of the Federal Ministry of Interior want to cooperate closely with the civilian commissions which operate in parallel with them.

One question that remains to be answered is what to do with StB informers. While some Civic Forum representatives attending the meeting demanded that their activity be subjected to an inquiry, others warned against the escalation of social tension: "It would amount to a manhunt and could end up in bloodshed," they argued.

Former Political Prisoners Organize Confederation

AU2202115090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 19 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "How To Remedy the Irremediable?; The Confederation of Political Prisoners of Czechoslovakia"]

[Excerpts] Prague— Almost 5,000 political prisoners from the years 1948-1989, who met in Prague yesterday, set up an organization, the aim of which is to defend their interests and, at the same time, to contribute to a democratic development in Czechoslovakia. The organization, the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Czechoslovakia, is the followup organization to the disbanded K 231.

The general assembly approved the confederation's statutes and elected its committee. Rudolf Pernicky was elected the confederation's chairman.

The chief aim of the new organization is to finally make amends for wrongdoings. [passage omitted]

The confederation will seek the granting of decent pensions to former political prisoners of the communist regime. It ought to be made known that the period between February 1948 and January 1953 which these people spent in jail is not included in calculating their pensions. Likewise, in setting their pensions, account was not taken of the fact that many political prisoners worked in uranium mines. One need not have any doubts about the health effects of this hard physical labor, which used to be carried out without any protective measures. This is why another demand of the confederation concerns the provision of medical care for former prisoners.

The Confederation of Political Prisoners of Czechoslovakia wants to contribute to the assessment of the past four decades and will therefore collect documents and authentic testimonies of citizens about the violation of human rights by the organs of power. [passage omitted]

Dubcek Discusses Armaments, EC, German Unity

AU1602223790 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 16 Feb 90 p 56

[Interview with Parliamentary President Alexander Dubcek by Renee Krausova; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Krausova] It is known that the CSSR has an enormous armaments industry and even occupies seventh place among the arms-exporting countries. What will be done in this respect?

[Dubcek] We have recently announced the immediate halting of the export of arms, although we know that this is a severe blow to our state budget. We will also start disarmament, that is to say, we will gradually change over to other nonmilitary products. Of course, this creates great problems: new investments, retraining of the employees, and so on. But the time for it has come—all over the world.

As already mentioned, we will strive for closer cooperation with our European neighbors. So many things changed in the West in the past few years. In this respect I think of social improvements for workers, the development of democratic rights pushed through by the trade unions, socialists, social democrats, and democratic forces. The Western capitalist world, as we called and categorized it, no longer exists.

It was our big mistake—one of many—that we isolated ourselves so much that we did not perceive these changes because we had no standards of comparison. We have to make up for all this. In the future we have to take such countries, countries like Belgium, the FRG, France, Austria, and Sweden, as a yardstick. We want to learn much from the social movements in these countries. [passage omitted]

Today I will do everything so that Czechoslovakia will again occupy its place in the center of Europe. The distance from Prague to Paris, London, and Moscow will be the same in the future. We want the country to become part of the EC as soon as possible; EC membership is only a matter of time. We will soon develop a memorandum that could be interesting to the EC.

[Krausova] Since the Conference of Yalta, which initiated the division of Germany, 45 years have passed. Now the two states are to be reunited. Will old fears return?

[Dubcek] Permit me to say only the following: You know that all European politicians are currently striving for European integration and the security of their countries. Our policy is also in line with this interest. The important thing is that the security of the borders will be guaranteed. In this I take for granted that the process of German unification is part of the European integration process. [passage omitted]

Dienstbier, Congressmen Discuss Helsinki Process

LD2102224190 Prague CTK in English 2028 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Washington Feb 21 (CTK correspondents)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met with U.S. Congressmen Dennis de Concini and Steny Hoyer, the chairman and deputy chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Committee, here today.

Jiri Dientsbier stressed the necessity to "replace the European structures of division by structures of cooperation towards them." The Helsinki process must be accelerated in harmony with the sweeping pace of changes in central and Eastern Europe, the foreign minister said.

Urban Comments on Difficulties Facing Civic Forum

LD1702223290 Prague CTK in English 1753 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 17 (CTK)—Jan Urban of the Civic Forum coordinating centre today pointed to the present difficult situation in the Civic Forum after the departure of its leading personalities.

Speaking at an assembly of the Civic Forum here today, Jan Urban said that uncertainty occurred mainly after the nomination of Petr Pithart Czech premier. [sentence as received] The Civic Forum now faces the difficult task to build up an effectively functioning structure that will ensure the continuation of the process of democratization of Czechoslovakia.

The coordinating centre came to the assembly with specified proposals, mainly with the demand to establish a college of the Civic Forum's board that would concentrate leading personalities of Czechoslovak present political life who used to be the forum's members and now hold significant state posts.

Another representative of the Civic Forum coordinating centre, Petr Kucera, stressed the necessity to create such an electoral law that will give chance mainly to personalities and at the same time will create strong post-election coalitions capable of defending several unpopular measures that will have to be taken.

Most participants agreed on the need to change the rules of the Civic Forum.

New Energy Minister Favors Nuclear Power

AU1602150390

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 February on page 3, under the headline "Priority to Ecology," carries a 400-word interview with Professor Engineer Jaroslav Suva, the newly appointed CSSR minister of fuels and energy, by Igor Sirota.

Asked what he considers to be the main problem for the CSSR power industry, Suva replies that he gives priority to ecological issues. Sirota then asks him how correct ecological conditions can be achieved. According to Suva, this may be "through the development of nuclear energy, although there are different opinions about this." He continues: "From the ecological viewpoint, this source is far more favorable than some others."

In conclusion, Suva denies that he knows anything about differences in the government or the reasons for his predecessor's resignation.

CPCZ Committee Discusses Recent Expulsions

AU2202090990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The CPCZ (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) Central Committee Has Discussed a Report by the Commission Evaluating Political Responsibility for Crisis Development in the Party and in Society"]

[Text] Based on the commission's recommendation, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee has decided to expel the following people from the CPCZ: Mikulas Bena; Petr Colotka; Jan Fojtik; Jaroslav Hajn; Josef Havlin; Karel Hoffmann; Miloslav Hruskovic; Alois Indra; Ignac Janak; Antonin Kapek; Marie Kabrhelova; Josef Kempny; Josef Korcak; Jozef Lenart; Vaclav Marek; Miroslav Muller; Jan Pirc; Zbynek Sojak; Lubomir Strougal; Frantisek Tesar; and Miroslav Zavadil.

The above mentioned officials are responsible for the erroneous political decisions made in senior party functions. They played an immediate part in implementing the undemocratic, centralist, and command-administrative system of management which gradually paralyzed the party's internal life and its ability to deal effectively with issues involving society's development; this contributed to the party's estrangement from the people. They are also responsible for the inconsistent fulfillment of the adopted restructuring program. Their

activity has contributed to the fact that among a sizable part of the population the ideas of socialism have been completely discredited.

The commission did not look into issues whose solution lies within the competence of organs active in criminal proceedings or of other state organs.

The CPCZ Central Committee made note of the fact that the commission conducted interviews with Karel Kovar, Jiri Purs, Frantisek Stafa, and Miroslav Zika. These former CPCZ Central Committee members and candidate members refused to resign from their posts on the basis of a letter sent to them by Karel Urbanek, the former CPCZ Central Committee general secretary. The commission reproached them for this stance and suggested to the CPCZ Central Committee that it rescind their party membership. The CPCZ Central Committee agrees with this conclusion.

The CPCZ Central Committee also considered Gustav Husak's degree of political responsibility. It is aware that he made a significant contribution to the national liberation struggle and to building the foundations of a socialist society. During the 1950's he was a victim of illegal trials and was imprisoned. In his post as CPCZ Central Committee first secretary he attempted to prevent an even harsher settling of accounts with those who had taken part in shaping policy in the years 1968-69.

However, he later allowed internal party democracy to be suppressed and, instead of it, allowed the gradual implementation of policies and methods of work which led to a growth in the unlimited power wielded by a group of functionaries in party and state leadership, to the CPCZ's detachment from society, and to its inability to deal with developing social problems. He played a significant role in the current profound crisis in the party and society. Despite his undeniable merits, with regard to his comprehensive responsibility for political development—especially during the past decade—he has been expelled from CPCZ ranks.

The CPCZ Central Committee has entrusted the commission with continuing in its work and with submitting a report on its activity to the next session.

(Editorial note: Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan were expelled from the CPCZ by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on 7 December 1989. Vasil Bilak was expelled from the CPCZ by the party's extraordinary congress on 21 December 1989).

Mohorita Criticizes Simplication of Issues

AU1802194390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Feb 90 p 1

[Jan Dulin report: "Not Fearing Free Thinking; From an Aktiv of Kosice Communists Attended by Vasil Mohorita, CPCZ (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) Central Committee First Secretary"]

[Excerpt] [Dulin] Is it true that a bill on the abolition of the nationalization decree is under preparation?

[Mohorita] This is another rumor circulating throughout the republic. But I have already spoken about how in our country we are susceptible to believing rumors and to spreading them.

[Dulin] There is a lot of talk that during the current visit being made by Tomas Bata, a decision was made on returning his enterprises. What is the real situation and who is behind this?

[Mohorita] As far as I am aware, this issue is substantially more complicated than is being discussed in society. The simplified view is not uncommon that the Civic Forum wants to sell off property and that our party is against this. This is looking at things in black and white, and such views have no real foundation. I met with Civic Forum representatives and this, indeed, is not the case. As far as I know, no decisions are being made or adopted against the real interests of our state, our people, and their development.

These are only short extracts from replies made by Vasil Mohorita, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] first secretary, to two of the many questions put to him at the 14 February aktiv of Kosice Communists. Despite the unusual starting time—nine o'clock in the morning—and the short notice given that it was taking place, more than 500 CPCZ members—among whom were young people, including students—assembled at the aktiv. Vasil Mohorita referred to the completely new situation in which the CPCZ finds itself. He stressed that it is necessary to see the reason for social drift lying in the fact that the system for the party's management of the whole of society, a system extending into all spheres, was not viable and that proclaimed principles did not work in practice. It was a grave shortcoming that the party was not able to change its cadres during the course of events; a perverse understanding of the principle of democratic centralism and party discipline that affected manifestations of free thinking by party members and our society, also played a part in this. [passage omitted]

Discusses Changing Republic's Name

AU1902170590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Jozef Jurcisin report: "Let Us Give Fitting Contents to the Concept"]

[Excerpts] Vasil Mohorita arrived in Presov on 14 February at the end of his visit to East Slovakia. [passage omitted]

At the start of the meeting, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] first secretary briefly evaluated developments in the party and in society since 1985; however, he also referred to the crucial need for an objective evaluation of other eras. [passage omitted]

The debate with the meeting's participants lasted for almost two hours. Many questions concerned the CPCZ's point of view about the CSSR Government's policy, the international situation, and the CPCZ's position in society. On the margin of the many critical reservations in the mass information media about the CPCZ's method of operation, V. Mohorita commented that the party must get used to the existence of diverse points of view. He defined demands for unity in the CPCZ according to previous concepts as inadequate; on the contrary, the CPCZ must become an open, modern political party that does not avoid bitter ideological clashes because only these can assist in explaining many matters. In this regard, he commented that it should not be difficult for the CPCZ to come to terms with the fact that the word "socialist" will be removed from the republic's name. It is necessary to give fitting contents to the concept of socialism. What we identify this with today is only the Stalinist model of socialism. [passage omitted]

CPCZ Officials See Danger of 'Dark Forces'

AU2202091390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Report by Iveta Fryvaldska, Alena Ruzkova, and Frantisek Zdobina on the second session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, held in Prague on 17 February: "Openly About Past Mistakes and the Road To the Future"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)—[passage omitted] Speaking in the debate, Rudolf Reiner from Prague raised the serious problem of "dark forces," as they are referred to by some political officials. Do they exist, or do they not exist? Rudolf Reiner said he believes they exist; they consist mostly of members of the party apparatus who have been made expendable. "These comrades do not see the reason for their departure in the mistakes of the former leadership, in the situation that has come about, but they regard as the sole culprits Comrades Mohorita and Adamec and the party leadership. They are spreading intrigues and slanders, which, as I have ascertained, have even reached the level of district committees. This is where sentiments directed against the party leadership are taking shape. It is necessary to bid farewell to these people. These people, together with lovers of the old system, are engaged in a very dangerous activity. [passage omitted] We must deal and come to terms with this; we must prevent the party's existence from being jeopardized in this way. There exist signals indicating that these people are preparing for factionalist activity at the upcoming district and municipal district conferences.

The speech by Ivan Petruzela from Prague was marked by a similar tone. He said that the greatest number of careerists had come to Prague and that now "it is hard to get rid of them." Moreover, it is they, the "dark forces," which actually operate there. In this connection he called attention to the fact that, in the awareness of the public, no distinction is being made as yet between the old and the new CPCZ leadership, which is completely cleared of the past. He spoke critically about the work of the Executive Committee of the CPCZ Central Committee, because, inter alia, it did not sufficiently draw attention to the declining trends in the national economy in December and January and because of the large number of rumors making the rounds among the public about the abolition of all decrees on nationalization and so forth. In the opinion of I. Petruzela, by taking a stand on these issues the new party leadership will draw the necessary dividing line between itself and the old leadership. [passage omitted]

Pavol Kanis, secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, fully endorsed the proposal voiced at the Central Committee session that the CPSU should apologize to us. "We are carrying on our shoulders the burden of history and cannot get rid of it. The paraphernalia of Stalinism did not originate in Czechoslovakia, they were exported to our country, along with Soviet advisers and other matters. The year 1968, which brought about a trauma in the whole party and society—a trauma which was eating away at them and from which they did not recover for 20 years—was not our sole affair either." As he went on to stress, the reassessment of these events therefore was not a matter for Czechoslovak communists alone. In this context Pavol Kanis said that he regards the assistance which the Soviet Union rendered to the process of restructuring in our country as politically insufficient because "it should have been with Gorbachev's help that the tangle of snakes who were devouring each other and who led this party into catastrophe should have been swept away." [passage omitted]

Commission To Request USSR Documents on 1968

LD1602220290 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 16 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak government has created a commission to find out full historical truth about the 1968 events when the troops of five Warsaw Treaty states invaded Czechoslovakia. Chairman of the commission is Professor Vojtech Mencl, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Frantisek Reichel told journalists at a press conference here today.

The basic task of the commission is to analyse the reasons for the entry of troops and objectively evaluate further political development in Czechoslovakia till 1970.

Chairman of the Commission Professor Vojtech Mencl said that the commission has already established contacts with Hungarian and Polish historians and gained a number of valuable materials. The GDR has also promised to supply e.g. recordings from negotiations in Dresden before August 1968 and of the Vltava radio station. "We urgently need to know the then development in the Kremlin, we have insufficient information from the Soviet side. We know that the documents

concerning August 21, 1968 exist on the Soviet territory and we shall therefore ask for their copy", he stressed, adding that complete information is required not only by the Czechoslovak public but that also foreign countries are interested in it. Soviet citizens have no information at all about these events, he said.

Other historical teams studying the 1945-48 period and the 50s started their work parallelly with this government commission.

The Czechoslovak government commission for the analysis of the 1968-70 period, whose address is Rosa Luxembourg Street 3, Prague 5, would appreciate evidence not only from Czechoslovak citizens but also from witnesses living abroad, he said.

Christian Democrats Name Carnogursky Chairman

LD1702230490 Prague CTK in English 1823 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Nitra, West Slovakia Feb 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky was named chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement of Slovakia at its constituent congress here today.

The meeting was attended by over 1,000 delegates from the whole of Slovakia, guests from Christian Democratic associations from Bohemia, expatriates' associations, Christian Democratic parties, Christian churches and sister social and political movements from abroad.

Addressing the congress, Jan Carnogursky pointed to the significance of Christianity in history of the Slovak nation, its tasks at present and the efforts of Christians aimed at reaching freedom and justice for individuals and society.

The delegates to the congress discussed and approved the movement's statutes and the draft program statement. The Christian Democratic Movement will aim its work mainly at the pursuing the principles of Christianity and humanism in the sphere of intellectual culture of the nations, in the economic, social, legal, ecological, health and other spheres, in the life of families and youth, in relation to nationalities in Slovakia as well as in the union with the Czech nation.

Slovak Premier Interviewed on Pensions, Economy

AU1602150890

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 15 February on page 3 carries a 2,200-word interview with Milan Cic, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, by Elena Klimesova entitled "He Who Forgets History Is Forced To Relive It." The date and place of the interview, in which Cic answers a wide range of questions concerning the situation in Slovakia, are not given.

In his initial reply, Cic deplores cases of "job discrimination" on political grounds but says that the central bodies cannot act as judges in individual cases of recalled managers but must rely on citizens' "common sense, cultural and moral standards, and sense of justice." He says that the labor collectives themselves are best placed to "paralyze extremists" and make sure that professionally and morally competent experts keep their jobs.

Next, Cic is asked whether the Slovak Socialist Republic Government considers any material compensation for people who lost their jobs for political reasons in the wake of the 1968 events. He replies that he considers it unjust for pensions of persecuted people to be based on their low earnings, which were part of their persecution, "all the more so as the executors of 'normalization' have been awarded far higher pensions and this injustice would be perpetuated for many years to come." This is why a commission is to consider the possibility of a legislative amendment which would permit an increase in the persecuted persons' pensions.

Cic's subsequent statements concern the economic situation in Slovakia. He mentions that the performance of the Slovak economy in January 1990 was four percent lower than in the same month of 1989, which he attributes to the "ferment to which we bear witness." He expresses the belief, however, that the "situation will become stabilized" once new trade union structures become established and is confident that, eventually, the "movement in society" will have a positive impact on the situation at workplaces.

Asked about the "opening of the economy to the world" and the influx of foreign capital to Slovakia, Cic says that the Government can only establish the necessary legislative conditions but that the actual business contacts are up to individual enterprises. He mentions that, in addition to the much publicized talks with Czechoslovak-born Western businessmen such as Tomas Bata and Michael Sumichrast, talks are under way with unspecified "firms from Japan, South Korea, and the United States" about "making full use of the capacity of the Bratislava Automobile Works." Speaking about the economy, Cic also discusses the planned structural changes in the chemical and mining industries and the urgency of environmental problems. The most important projects in this sphere will include, according to the Slovak premier, the modernization of aluminum production in Ziar nad Hronom, the desulfurization or closure of coal-fired power stations in the Upper Nitra region, the phasing out of ecologically harmful production programs, such as the production of viscose in Bratislava, the relocation of the oil pipeline where it runs through areas which are major sources of drinking water, and a solution to the nickel plant at Sered.

In his next statement, Cic emphasizes the important role played by the Slovak National Heritage Foundation [Matica Slovenska] in promoting Slovak patriotism and cultural contacts with Slovaks living abroad. In his concluding reply, finally, he discusses plans for a Slovak

Government newspaper. He says that he believes that the spectrum of the Slovak press "is short of a daily that would reflect the whole range of problems and questions with which the Slovak Government deals, including the implementation of the Government program; a daily that would be above party politics and that would inform objectively, in a businesslike way, and independently about everything which life in our country and in the world brings with it." According to Cic, this daily should have 16 pages and its publication should start in May. Its "contemplated" title is NARODNA OBRODA [National Revival], which was the name of an independent Slovak newspaper published between 1945 and 1948 when it was closed by Vaclav Kopecky. As Cic points out, NOVA OBRODA "represented the pinnacle of Slovak journalism and the new Government daily should follow up on its democratic and humanistic traditions."

Slovak Youth Union Holds Congress

AU1802143090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 90 p 3

["jc"-signed report: "Youth Organization Set Up In the Slovak Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Bratislava (From our correspondent)— The Union of the Young [Svaz Mladych] is the name that has been given to the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] by the delegates participating in the second part of the SSM extraordinary congress in the Slovak Socialist Republic in Bratislava on 11 February. The first part of the congress took place on 6 January. The congress approved the granting of independence to the Pioneer, the Slovak Association of University Students, and the Tree of Life organizations effective from the day of their registration with the Slovak Ministry of Interior and Environment. These organizations are legal successors of what used to be constituent parts of the SSM. The congress recommended that the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic set up a separate independent state agency to deal with questions related to the youth. The delegates elected the Slovak Coordinating Center of the Union of the Young; Peter Juza became its chairman.

Public Against Violence Holds Assembly

AU1802142390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Assembly of the Public Against Violence Movement"]

[Text] The second assembly of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement took place in Bratislava on 10 February. Ninety delegates from VPN district and regional coordinating committees and members of the VPN coordinating committee in Bratislava took part. The main topics were the domestic political situation, internal questions, the structure of and democracy inside the movement—the guarantor of which is supposed to be the assembly—and the legal powers of individual components.

The assembly elected a 21-member council that will be the movement's highest executive body in the period between assembly sessions. The participants in the assembly also approved a modified version of the VPN Statutes. No members of political parties are supposed to be in the VPN coordinating committees and in the committees of primary groups.

Communique Summarizes CPSL-PAV Talks

AU1702205090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Communique issued by the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Executive Committee following its meeting with the Public Against Violence Coordinating Committee: "In the Interest of Democracy and Understanding"]

[Text] On 4 February 1990 at 1900, a meeting was held in the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee building between the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee and representatives of the Public Against Violence [PAV] Coordinating Committee. The subject of the talks, which took place in a working atmosphere and which were highlighted by a frank exchange of views, was, first and foremost, the possibility of appeasing the situation in workplaces. The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee representatives expressed their fears that, as a consequence of the unrestrained pressure for the recall and replacement of cadres being whipped up by self-styled groups at workplaces, there would be destabilization in production and in the state administration. They proposed concluding a political agreement at the highest level with the PAV Coordinating Committee which would involve the simultaneous withdrawal of CPSL and PAV primary organizations from workplaces and cooperation in renewing trade unions. They emphasized they are not posing this question for narrow party reasons, but are raising it in the interest of making sure that workplaces operate normally. They referred to the fact that today we are confronted with resolving the historical problem of substituting our social system and, if both sides do not make magnanimous approaches, we might not be able—given the rapid pace of change—to prevent a breakdown in society. In the case of an agreement being reached, for which it is still not too late, it would be possible to maintain the delicate balance in society.

The PAV Coordinating Committee representatives made agreement conditional on the establishment of free trade unions which they consider to be the PAV's successors in workplaces. They targeted the main reason for the conflicts and unhealthy atmosphere in some workplaces as being the fact that the government did not foresee the situation and did not adopt in time exact guidelines for changing management cadres. As a result

of this, changes took place, some of which were justified and some which were chaotic.

The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee representatives supported the necessity of replacing incompetent and discredited managers. They proposed an agreement based on reconstructing workers' councils in enterprises and on selecting managers in such a way that the councils may make decisions about replacing managers. They agreed, if the need should arise, that CPSL representatives, together with PAV representatives, will participate in resolving serious conflicts in workplaces.

The PAV Coordinating Committee identified the wait-and-see tactics of the Communist Party and its unwillingness to adapt itself as another source of political tension. The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee representatives rejected this view and pointed to the fundamental changes contained in its program and to the organizational system that was achieved at the CPSL and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia extraordinary congresses. They stressed that party members themselves must make decisions about its structure and that changes to each political organization can only be implemented at a specific time and on the basis of specific steps. In connection with finding the causes of political tension, they referred to the necessity of also discussing the PAV's problems and they suggested that a television dialogue be held on relations between the CPSL and the PAV and on the possibilities for their cooperation in resolving social problems.

The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee representatives demanded that periodical press issues be resolved as part of the roundtable talks and in connection with the political forces' access to all the mass communication media, first and foremost, to radio and television. This involves, in particular, safeguarding the activity of political program councils which would guarantee equal conditions for access to broadcasting. In connection with the accusations about the CPSL's press monopoly, they referred to the real facts. (Yesterday's CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee point of view, published in PRAVDA, contains some of the objective arguments). Moreover, the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee has decided to cease publishing political regional dailies and to inform the Slovak Socialist Republic deputy premier of this decision with the recommendation that they become regional newspapers which respect the general public's broad spectrum of interests. The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee representatives related that the property owned by the party in press facilities was legally acquired from party members' contributions. Today it is mainly used to publish the non-party press.

While discussing the weekly NOVE SLOVO, the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee representatives alluded to the illusory notion that it covers the whole political spectrum. They supported its having the format of a magazine oriented toward presenting left-wing to centrist views. The CPSL needs NEDELNA PRAVDA, among other things, because it has no medium for discussing theoretical and ideological issues.

The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee members stressed, in particular, that the CPSL as the founder of the Pravda Press Combine establishes—on the basis of material possibilities and without any political conditions—scope for publishing newspapers for all those striving for this in harmony with the positive development of public opinion and in a spirit of democracy and national understanding.

At the suggestion of the PAV Coordinating Committee, made at the end of the talks, both sides agreed to issue their own communique on the meeting.

CPSL Blocks Newsprint Reallocation Agreement

AU1902172790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Newsprint Redistribution"]

[Text] Bratislava— In Bratislava on Wednesday [14 February], representatives of the Public Against Violence movement, Democratic Party, Freedom Party, and the Christian Democratic Movement, met representatives of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] at a roundtable to discuss the topical problem concerning a fair redistribution of newsprint.

The meeting was held because from the total quantity of 7,191 tonnes of newsprint used for the political press, 6,658 tonnes belong to the CPSL (PRAVDA and UJ SZO). The newsprint allocation for the periodicals VEREJNOST and NAP will last, when published twice a week, only until the end of February. Other political parties and movements together have only 160 tonnes of newsprint (the Democratic Party 147 tonnes, Freedom Party 13 tonnes, Christian Democratic Movement zero tonnes).

The CPSL representatives suggested that they would be willing to give 2,000 tonnes away, but only after 1 April 1990. At the same time, they proposed that the shortage of paper in Slovakia should not be solved to the detriment of the CPSL, but through the redistribution of a nationwide newsprint allocation.

The representatives of the Public Against Violence movement, Democratic Party, Freedom Party, and the Christian Democratic Movement proposed that the Communist Party keep as much paper as it needs for an unchanged number of copies for its newspapers PRAVDA and UJ SZO provided that PRAVDA reduces its format size and stops publishing CPSL-controlled weeklies.

The CPSL representatives did not accept this proposal.

The other political parties which took part in the roundtable negotiations said that the CPSL's attitude does not

reflect the fact that the leading role of the Communist Party was abolished and that the CPSL information monopoly remains in existence without justification.

The participants in the meeting (except the CPSL representatives) agreed to address the Slovak Government with the demand that it take the necessary provisions to reduce the CPSL's newsprint consumption from 9,002 tonnes to 2,663 tonnes beginning 1 March 1990, which represents approximately 40 percent of the newsprint consumption allocated for the daily newspapers of the political parties. At the same time, they decided to ask the government to stop printing the CPSL weeklies NOVE SLOVO, VASARNAPI UJ SZO, and NEDELNA PRAVDA Pravda, beginning 1 March 1990.

Printing of Slovak Newspapers Jeopardized

AU2102133690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 February on page 2, under the headline "Production of Newspapers and Periodicals in Jeopardy," carries a 400-word "Statement by the Working People and Management of the PRAVDA Printing Plants." The statement notes that, because of serious shortage of "printing supplies" and the failure of the printing plants' founder, the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, to ensure foreign currency for essential "investments, materials, and spare parts," the printing of "all" dailies and other periodicals will be halted on 26 February of this year.

The statement warns that this move would have serious political consequences and urges the Slovak government to deal with the printing plants' problems, "the solution of which is not within the powers of the management and staff of the PRAVDA printing plants." The statement also reminds the Slovak government that, as far back as 7 December 1989, the management of the PRAVDA printing plants lodged a request with the Slovak government that the enterprise be "depoliticized and removed from the jurisdiction of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee" and criticizes the government for not having reached a decision on the future of the enterprise to date.

The statement is followed by a 100-word "editorial note" stating that, as PRAVDA learned on 19 February in the afternoon, the director of the PRAVDA press combine and A. Klesl, head of a CSSR National Front Central Committee department, conducted talks that day on making available to the PRAVDA press combine its entire foreign currency allocation for the first quarter of 1990 at once and transferring it to its account by 22 February.

Slovak Government Approves State's Name, Emblem

AU1802175990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Key Issues"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The Slovak Socialist Republic Government held a meeting in Bratislava on 14 February. It approved a course of action for implementing its policy statement made on 19 December 1989. The government's main tasks can be placed into three categories—political development, economic strategy, and improving the quality of life. [passage omitted]

The government agreed with the draft constitutional law on changing the name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the proviso that the new name be the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia [Republika Cesko-Slovensko].

After a wide-ranging discussion in the presence of experts, the Slovak Government recommended to the Slovak National Council a proposal for the Slovak Republic's state emblem—an upright silver cross with two horizontal bars on three hills portrayed on a red shield.

It approved the Slovak National Council's draft constitutional law on the Slovak Republic's name, state emblem, state flag, state seal, and state anthem, and the Slovak National Council's draft law on using the Slovak Republic's state emblem, state flag, state seal, and state anthem. The Slovak national flag is suggested as the state emblem and the hymn "Nad Tatrou Sa Blyska" is proposed as the state's anthem.

It agreed with the draft constitutional law on the Czecho-Slovak state emblem—a split shield with the Czech lion on the left-hand side and the historic Slovak emblem on the right-hand side. The Federal Assembly will definitively discuss the draft law.

It agreed with the composition of a commission set up to investigate the persecution of former Slovak Socialist Republic Government members in the years 1969-70—Professor Dr. Ladislav Kosta, candidate of sciences, the commission's chairman; Prof. Dr. Pavel Pollak, candidate of sciences, the commission's secretary; and Engineer Juraj Kolek, candidate of sciences, a commission member. Among those who were persecuted are: Engineer Stefan Sadovsky, Engineer Jozef Zrak, Engineer Stanislav Luptak, Stefan Sebesta, Maria Sedlakova, Engineer Frantisek Barbirek, and Dr. Felix Vasecka. The commission's task is to look into these people's cases and to submit a proposal to the government for their rehabilitation.

Dr. Michal Schumichrast from the United States, the government's honorary adviser, participated in part of the proceedings.

The Slovak Socialist Republic Government discussed several other issues.

Slovak National Council Holds Session

AU1802140190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Antonia Vymazlova and Frantisek Melis report: "The Reconstruction of Parliament Continues..."]

[Text] Bratislava (From our parliamentary correspondents)—On 9 February, a considerably reconstructed Slovak National Council [SNR] convened for its 21st session. CSSR Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Slovak Socialist Republic Premier Milan Cic, and other guests were present. SNR Chairman Rudolf Schuster opened the session.

He emphasized that the SNR receives many requests, suggestions, and complaints from citizens that it is necessary to deal with at the SNR Presidium level. He stated that a working group has been established with responsibility for citizens' legal protection; after a petition law has been adopted, an efficiently conducted petition committee should be constituted from this group. The SNR chairman also spoke about the rehabilitation of deputies who had been engaged in the council at various times and who, for political reasons, had vacated their deputies' seats for prison cells. He stressed that rehabilitation should not only be a matter for the SNR, but that help is expected from social organizations, national committees, and the church. He highlighted the need to adopt important laws after expert consideration and public discussion. Currently, this involves a new draft law for elections to the SNR.

Three Unfilled Mandates

Since 11 January, 26 SNR deputies have resigned their mandates: L. Abraham, V. Antal, [illegible]. Bejda, Z. Bocz, J. Borik, K. Brodzia[illegible]sky, A. [illegible]engrosova, D. Futej, J. Gala, J. Hlinicky, B. Chudy [illegible] Jancik, J. Kansky, I. Knotek, S. Kodaj, F. Kovac, [illegible]. Laclav, E. Lagova, S. Lazar, I. Magyar, M. Marko, A Mazak, K. Nagy, M. Rohac, J. Simoncic, and M. Valek. Individual political parties and the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee Presidium recalled another 19 deputies: L. Balogh, S. Bartak, V. Cabra, S. Fabry, S. Horvath, D. Krocsany, J. Saba, J. Zemka, M. Bumbalaova, M. Horvathova, O. Kolackovsky, J. Kolarikova, B. Mazarova, M. Ondrus, A. Pomposova, S. Smolej, G. Sarkozyova, J. Zabak, and M. Zahorsky.

After agreement had been reached with the Public Against Violence Movement, the political parties submitted proposals for 42 deputies' mandates out of the 45 vacated seats; thus three deputies' seats remain unfilled. Elections to these mandates will take place at the 22d SNR session, which will probably be held on 22 February. In a ballot for each candidate, the deputies elected the following new deputies: Frantisek Asher, Public Against Violence [VPN]; Spisska Bela; Jan Bakica, VPN, Komjatice; Viktor Bauer, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, [CPCZ], Snina; Jan Bicko, VPN, Medzilaborce; Eva Borovska, Christian Democratic Movement, Vrbove; Jozef Brilla, Christian Democratic Movement, Sered; Jozef Csaky, Freedom Party, Presov; Erika Csekesova, VPN-Hungarian Independent Initiative, Rimavska Sobota; Dusan Dobrovodsky, Christian Democratic Movement, Holic; Samuel Faltan, CPCZ, Cierny Balog; Maria Fialova, Freedom Party, Nova Bana; Milan Ptacnik, CPCZ, Trnava; Eduard Granec, Demo[illegible]atic Party, Malacky; Miroslav Grecny, VPN, Velky [illegible]rtis; Ludovit Grendel, VPN-Hungarian Independent Initiative, Filakovo; Rudolf Hamerlik, Christian Democratic Movement, Galanta; Lubomira Harsanyova, Christian Democratic Movement, Trnava-North; Lubomir Hausdorf, VPN, Nove Mesto nad Vahom; Jiri Hering, VPN, Stara Tura; Mikulas Hirjak, VPN, Lipany; Ivan Hudec, CPCZ, Dolny Hricov; Ivan Hudec, VPN, Revuca; Jozef Hubel, VPN, Spisska Nova Ves; Augustin Huska, VPN, Sladeckovce; Laszlo Kovacs, VPN-Hungarian Independent Initiative, Samorin; Jakub Krigovsky, Christian Democratic Movement, Gelnica; Alica Krsakova, VPN, Bratislava Petrzalka-West; Stanislav Kunda, Democratic Party, Slovenska Lupca; Ladislav Leco, Democratic Party, Bidovce; Jozef Lukac, CPCZ, Kosice III; Daniel Macak, VPN, Poltar; Jan Masarik, Christian Democratic Movement-VPN, Svit; Laszlo Nagy, VPN-Hungarian Democratic Initiative, Calovo; Jan Pauco, VPN, Ziar nad Hronom; Ladislav Pirovits, VPN, Kralovsky Chlmec; Jozef Pribilinec, CPCZ, Kezmarok; Jozef Prokes, Independent Free Trade Unions, Zlate Moravce; Anna Santova, VPN, Surany; Anton Tazky, Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, Trencianske Teplice; Tibor Vecan, Democratic Party, Komarno; Peter Weiss, CPCZ, Bratislava-Dubravka; and Milan Wolf, CPCZ, Partizanske.

The newly elected deputies took the constitutionally prescribed oath before the SNR chairman. For the first time since 1948, the Communists have lost their majority in this Slovak legislative body. They received 65 mandates; 85 mandates belong to deputies from other political parties, social organizations, civic movements, or to deputies without political appurtenance.

From the Speech Delivered by the Chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly

Later Alexander Dubcek addressed the deputies. He appreciated the fact that at its session the SNR wanted to make a transition to justice and truth, while vindicating 1968 and while overcoming distortions and injustices. He highlighted raising the authority and importance of representative bodies—from the Federal Assembly, through national councils, and up to national committees—as being one of today's most vital tasks. A. Dubcek stressed that the SNR's most significant role, just like the Czech National Council's role, is, as the highest representative of national and nationality interests, to stand at the forefront of efforts to unite the interests of all society. This should proceed from national understanding, tolerance, and sensitivity so that social relations can be

modified in the people's general interest. He expressed grave alarm at some reports from workplaces which state that working morale is declining and that economic contracts are not being fulfilled.

From the Speech Delivered by the Slovak Socialist Republic Premier

Milan Cic gave a briefing on the drafting of the Slovak Government's policy statement. The set of measures, he said, in essence involves three groups of fundamental tasks.

The alteration and completion of our state's political system belong to the first thematic group; a system founded upon the principles of democracy, humanism, social justice, and legality. Therefore, the government's norm setting endeavor—besides preparing the draft Slovak Socialist Republic Constitution—is concentrated on work on schemes involving laws on association, assembly, on political parties, a petition law, and the freedom of religious affiliation.

The second group of problems concerns the strategy for our transition from a directly controlled economy to a social and market economy. While drafting its policy statement, the government has obtained a relatively good survey of the most important intricacies in our economic, social, and cultural development.

Improving the quality of the environment represents the third group of urgent issues. An irresponsible and a not very forward looking economic past have accumulated problems that can only be resolved with costly ecological investments, if possible, by changing fuel energy.

Deputies' Questions

Twenty-six deputies turned to the SNR Presidium, the premier, and government ministers with their suggestions and questions. These concerned, for example, improving the environment in individual regions of Slovakia, the position of Slovakia and Bratislava in Europe, preparations for the new laws, the expansion of health-care services, and cooperation among all political and civil forces in guaranteeing the smooth running of production in enterprises.

Then the Slovak National Council approved, with suggestions, a proposal for the inclusion of newly elected deputies in SNR committees with the proviso that this issue be resolved at its next meeting. In a secret ballot it elected: Gabor Zaszlos (VPN), deputy chairman of the SNR and chairman of its National Committees and Minorities Committee; Stefan Ivanka (CPCZ), chairman of the SNR Committee for Agriculture and Food; and Ivan Hudec (VPN), chairman of the SNR Health and Social Affairs Committee. Deputy Peter Brnak (Democratic Party) resigned his post as chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee in favor of deputy Jan Bakic (VPN).

Amnesty for Misdemeanors

A government bill on providing amnesty for misdemeanors, whose discussion falls within the province of SNR organs, was substantiated by Slovak Justice Minister Ladislav Kosta. Deputy Jan Jancik (Social Democratic Party) delivered a joint report. This report—on the results of work carried out by an SNR Presidium commission looking into the activity of the SNR and its organs in the years 1968-70, and on the results of work carried out so far by a commission of SNR deputies supervising the inquiry into the police intervention against a believers' assembly in Bratislava in March 1988—was approved by the deputies. The Slovak National Council recalled two professional judges from their posts and approved a proposal for the election of 14 professional judges to Slovak courts.

Slovak Premier Milan Cic said that ministers will reply in writing to the deputies' questions and suggestions. Deputy Peter Weiss (CPCZ) then responded to speeches made by Deputy Ivan Carnogursky (Christian Democratic Movement) and Deputy Slovak Premier Vladimir Ondrus.

At the end of their session, the deputies made note of a report on the activity of the SNR Presidium during the period from 12 January to 9 February 1990.

Farmers Union Seeks Formal Political Status

LD1602124990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] The current position of the Cooperative Farmers Union and the tasks facing it for the future have been discussed in Bratislava by the coordination meeting of the leadership of the Central, Czech, and Slovak Committees of the Union. I would like to draw attention to an important item which was discussed, namely the political movement of the members of the United Agricultural Cooperatives. Cyril Moravcik, chairman of the Slovak Committee of the Cooperative Farmers Union, had this to say about it:

[Begin Moravcik recording] The cooperative farmers themselves voiced the demand, on the basis of the law which has been adopted on political parties, to run in the elections as a political movement. Naturally the Union, as their representative organization, welcomed this initiative and took it up with them, and what ensued is that there is to be a political movement made up of members of the Unified Agricultural Cooperatives. We want to register—once the preparatory committee has been set up—put forward our election program, and take part in the political struggle—if we can call it that—for the interests of cooperative farmers so that they are represented in the highest representative bodies, because only some cooperative farmers are organized in political parties. We estimate only 15 percent at the most, which means that 85 percent of them are not organized in political parties. They are independent, and I think that

this demand of theirs is justified, and that it will also be successful in the long run. [end recording]

Today's meeting of the Union's representatives also discussed matters of taking the cooperatives out of state control and of reestablishing individual members' ownership relations with the cooperatives by the method of membership shares.

Tradesmen, Entrepreneurs Establish Political Party

LD1702211290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The People's Democratic Party of Tradesmen and Entrepreneurs [vselidova demokraticka strana - strana zivnostniku a podnikatelu] was founded today in Prague by about 800 delegates.

The party wishes above all to support free enterprise, business, and equality of all the forms of ownership. It considers strengthening competition to be the only way to compete with economically highly developed countries.

The People's Democratic Party of Tradesmen and Entrepreneurs is to enter elections as an independent party, though some political groupings have already offered to form a coalition with it.

Assembly Assumes Tasks of National Front

AU1702202090 Prague PRACE in Czech 8 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "The National Front Terminates Its Activity"]

[Excerpts] Prague— Bodies of the CSSR National Front Central Committee terminated their activity yesterday. The participants in an assembly [shromazdeni] of representatives of CSSR political parties and social organizations decided that, for a certain time, this assembly should take over the organizational, economic, and professional tasks of the bodies of the CSSR National Front Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The participants in the assembly were also presented with an overview of new political parties, organizations, movements, and initiatives. They noted that their number, which changes daily, reached roughly 190 by the end of January. By 5 February, 39 political parties had either been established in the CSSR or their establishment was being prepared.

First Bishop Consecrated in 40 Years

AU2202091190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Bishop's Seat Filled"]

[Text] Presov— The seat of bishop of the Presov Eparchy of the Greek Catholic Church was filled on 17 February after more than 40 years. During a holy mass, Monsignor Jan Hirka was consecrated bishop of the Presov Eparchy and of all believers of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. Together with more than 10,000 believers, the holy mass was attended by Cardinal Jozef Tomko, prefect of the congregation for the evangelization of nations, who acted as chief consecrator; Cardinal Laszlo Paskay, the Hungarian primate; Cardinal Macharski, the archbishop of Krakow; and Francesco Colasuonno, apostolic nuncio for extraordinary church affairs in East Europe. Also acting as consecrators were Bishop Michal Rusnak from Canada and Bishop Slavomir Miklovs from Yugoslavia. Also present were: Deputy Federal Premier Josef Hromadka; Jozef Sirotnak, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council; and Ladislav Snopko, first deputy minister of culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

No Rise in Food Prices Planned Before Election

LD2102132790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1058 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Until 18 March and surely immediately thereafter, there will be no more price increases for foodstuffs. Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer made this statement today after numerous queries to the government in respect of the roundtable's call for the immediate scaling down of subsidies on foodstuffs, in confirmation of the government's stance expressed by GDR Economics Minister Christa Luft.

He gave as reasons: for such radical sociopolitical measure, a complex concept is required that has not yet been worked out in every detail. Also involved are questions that must be discussed by the joint commission of experts from the FRG and the GDR in their negotiations about the preconditions for a monetary union and an economic community. In addition, such a fundamental decision that concerns the interests of all citizens cannot be taken without thorough political and economic preparation. This is also an important lesson to be drawn from the cuts in subsidies on children's clothing.

Finally, the government spokesman said, it must be taken into account that according to the Ministry of Trade and Supply, price changes on this scale would involve considerable expenditure. The revaluation would involve 100,000 individual articles in some 90,000 retail outlets and 50,000 restaurants, bars, schools, canteens, and holiday facilities.

Merely to record and reprice properly the stocks and to relabel with the new prices, each article in industry and wholesale and retail trade would require approximately 200,000 employees. In the tens of thousands of trade outlets, bakers, butchers, delicatessens, restaurants, and in every enterprise that organizes communal cooking, preconditions for the in-house calculations would have to be created. A minimum period of four weeks would be needed for this, following a government decision, which would be based on broad public discussion.

It could only be the task of the Modrow government, the government spokesman said in conclusion, to work quickly, showing responsibility to the citizens of the country, in preparing essential steps for a necessary scaling down of subsidies and for the linked compensatory payments to individuals.

Further on Price Increases

LD2102130990 Hamburg DPA in German 0520 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—According to GDR Economics Minister Christa Luft, no new price increases are to be decided on before the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. In an interview with the FDJ [Free German Youth] newspaper JUNGE WELT today, Mrs. Luft adds: "We have learned, in particular from the abolition of subsidies on children's clothing, that such radical measures must first of all be publicly discussed and then announced in good time." The roundtable proposed on 19 February that the subsidies on foodstuffs be abolished before the election deadline.

On the demand for the German-German currency union, the minister said that the introduction of the Deutsche mark will not in itself solve the problems of the GDR. She expressed optimism, however, for an economic upswing in the country. The signs are set for this and will become even more apparent in the coming weeks.

Chamber Approves Law on Parties, Associations

LD2102132990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1125 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today, the GDR People's Chamber has approved the law on parties and other political associations, with 16 votes against. It comes into force with immediate effect, stipulating the freedom to form parties and the framework conditions for their democratic activities. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Amendments

LD2002213490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1356 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Law on Amendment and Supplement to the GDR Constitution.

The text of the law passed by the GDR People's Chamber today is as follows:

In accordance with Article 63 and Article 106 of the GDR Constitution, the People's Chamber has decided on the following amendments and supplements to the Constitution:

Paragraph 1

Article 3 is annulled

Paragraph 2

(1) Article 22, Section 3, is amended as follows:

"Elections will be held under public control and administered by democratically elected electoral commissions."

(2) Article 22 will be supplemented by Section 4 and Section 5:

"Foreign citizens and stateless people resident in the GDR have the right to vote in elections to district assemblies, town assemblies, city area assemblies and parish councils.

(3) Details are regulated by the electoral laws."

Paragraph 3

Article 54 is amended as follows:

"The People's Chamber consists of 400 deputies who are elected for a term of four years by the people in a free, general, equal, direct and secret election."

Paragraph 4

This law comes into force on 20 February 1990.

SPD Manager Rejects 'Unconditional Annexation'

LD2102181190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1427 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Ibrahim Boehme, business manager of the GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD], told the [FRG] SPD magazine VORWAERTS that there will be no unconditional annexation of the GDR to the FRG under his party. In the interview, prereleased in Bonn today, the SPD politician stated that there will be no united Germany as an associate NATO member "not even under Mr. Genscher's modified version."

Boehme, who put the membership figure for the SPD in the GDR at 85,000, said the "only plausible explanation" of the FRG Government's hestitant attitude vis-a-vis the GDR is the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union's intention to prevent a Bundesrat dominated by the Social Democrats. Boehme said that it must also be feared that after the elections, "Kohl will negotiate in a very sluggish manner with an SPD-led GDR government."

Asked by VORWAERTS why the SPD in the GDR wants to copy the same social market economy "that produces mass unemployment, new poverty, and massive environmental problems in the FRG," Boehme answered that this is "pure assumption." He believes that "a series of GDR basic rights should certainly be adopted in a new constitution, for example the right to work, accommodation, and education." Ibrahim Boehme hopes that the social market economy of the future will not only be shaped by the FRG, but also by the social structures that have arisen in the GDR.

Boehme, who announced a "broad coalition" of his party after the elections in order to tackle difficult political reforms, supports a "rapid monetary union" between the two German states in which the economically weaker elements will be protected and minimal pensions would be immediately raised. Asked about the degree of "anticipation concerning a new central German monopoly bourgeoisie," he argued that there must be "different paces." In the case of privatization, for example, a "welfare foundation" financed by 25 percent of revenues could be set up "to be used to provide cushioning for the unemployed and those retiring early."

Unification Cited at Rally

LD1802220590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2008 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Schwerlin (AND)—The Social Democratic Party [SPD] in the GDR aims to complete the process of German unification professionally, socially, and quickly. The interests of the neighboring states and the four victorious powers must not be neglected, however, or monetary and economic links delayed. This was stressed by Ibrahim Boehme, SPD business manager, today at an election event held by his party in Schwerin. For this reason, what is possible and necessary must be achieved now.

Boehme outlined the Social Democrats' timetable on the path to unity. Alliance loyalty or unity must not be the current problem concerning the two German states, but an economic, social, and ecological policy between the GDR and FRG, which initially does not touch on alliance questions. [passage omitted]

Boehme on Unification

AU1802193690 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1005 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Interview with Social Democratic Party Business Manager Ibrahim Boehme by Dietrich Mueller; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Mueller] Now that some time has passed after the visit by Hans Modrow and his delegation to Bonn, the foreign ministers' meeting in Ottawa, and the subsequent stocktaking by the Bundestag and the GDR Government, are you satisfied with the level and prospects of cooperation between the two German states?

[Boehme] I am by no means satisfied, Mr. Mueller. However, I am not disappointed or irritated either by the results of cooperation between the governments of the two German states. Judging from the way in which the negotiations were prepared, I did not expect anything else.

First of all, there is the dubious way in which offers are made to the Modrow government or topics for negotiations are presented by the press, although until six or eight weeks ago, Mr. Seiters used every opportunity to travel to East Berlin, as if he would go to his executives, to come to an agreement with them on some issue.

Second, I believe that the Modrow government is in a very difficult and hesitant position as regards the negotiations. This has not promoted the process of negotiations because, first of all, despite all their goodwill, which I do not want to deny, personalities like Hans Modrow and Christa Luft are very heavy-handed in such economic and financial negotiations, and, second, in my opinion, until 18 March the ministers of the various government parties in the Modrow government will probably engage in the election campaign or express

their different interests in the government and will not be prepared to cooperate with Modrow as he probably expected from this government team. [passage omitted]

[Mueller] You have said that you are striving for a coalition that is as broad as possible. Whom do you categorically rule out as a coalition partner and who would be a potential partner or partners?

[Boehme] This is a very difficult question, that is, it is actually a simple question but, except for the first part, it is hard for me to answer.

I believe that no party that is striving for a majority is considering the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which is now called Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], as an eligible coalition partner.

However, I believe that it is necessary to examine the documents, papers, and programs of the congresses of the other parties and groups in such a way that, first of all, similar programs will be ascertained to enable us to make a statement on a coalition on 18 March at the latest, or to show our preparedness for a coalition and to quickly start talks that must quickly lead to results. I believe that the contents of the programs as regards currency, economic, social policies, and the rule of law need not be examined in detail for there are many concurrent, identical, and similar views.

Decisive factors will probably be the Germany policy, the speed of the unification process, the interrelation between the individual steps, and, above all, European policy. These will probably be the decisive factors for coalition offers by the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. [passage omitted]

[Mueller] Considering the existence of two Social Democratic parties in Germany that have even the same name and the Germans' efforts for unification, the question arises when will the two parties become one. They will have a joint honorary chairman in a few days when Willy Brandt is elected to this position by the Leipzig party congress. And, in connection with this, will the party program to be discussed in Leipzig not have to be only a provisional one that will later be merged with the Berlin program of the Western SPD?

[Boehme] You have indeed mentioned an aspect that really sets me thinking. That is the speed of the development and to what extent we are able to keep pace with the development, that is, that we do not want to make decisions in the morning that have to be reconsidered in the evening because they would have been right the day before.

I believe that the process of unification is progressing more rapidly than we had expected a quarter of a year or half a year ago. However, I do not want a disordered unification or unity of the two German states. Much more would have to be said about the measures that are important for the alliances, which will certainly recede into the background after some time and will actually be decided and developed in a disarmament process and a European context, and about the possibilities that do not affect the alliances—that is, currency, economy, the social sector, and the rule of law—and could be immediately implemented. I am, for example, in favor of a radical solution and against half-heartedness because half-heartedness only increases the pain during the operation. This applies, for example, to the currency union that could initiate the economic union. The currency union has to be speedily implemented because otherwise the economic union would be wildly organized to the disadvantage of the GDR people. And after 18 March, it will be very hard for a legitimized government to be formed to abolish the unauthorized economic union by laws, decrees, or jurisprudence.

However, coming back to your question about the parties, my wish is that the members of our party and the members of the SPD in the FRG take the confederation of the two parties, which we resolved at our delegates conference of 12-14 January, seriously. By this, I mean taking seriously the respect for our different previous developments and the mutual will to benefit not only Germany, but also the neighboring states—we have nine neighboring states, which is unique in Europe—without irritating the victor powers. [passage omitted]

I believe that the two Social Democratic parties will be merged at the latest when the first clear structural result of the unification process is achieved. [passage omitted]

[Mueller] Mr. Boehme, have you not said some time ago that you would sue the attorney general who indicts Erich Honecker? At present, the GDR judiciary is actually suspected of trying to dodge its responsibility as a helper of a regime based on injustice by taking action against the former rulers. How do you and the GDR society want to cope with legal institutions that served injustice?

[Boehme] Yes, this a square peg with a round hole. I am pleased that you remember so well a statement that I made in a public debate with Professor Otto Reinhold in the Samaritans' Church on 23 November 1989. I said this and I stand up for it. I want those who are mainly responsible for our present fiasco to be actually called to account by law. [passage omitted]

I will soon be able to give you the copy of the letter that I wrote to the Office of the Prosecutor General in mid-December in which I demanded that no public prosecutor who had formerly been in the service of a Department of Public Prosecution should be entitled to indict one single person in this country. There are sufficient prosecutors-general whom I consider to be unbiased, so that they can adequately conduct or supervise investigations. [passage omitted]

[Mueller] Mr. Boehme, the leftist forces of the SPD in the GDR have repeatedly warned that the reunification of the two German states must not impair the social benefits in the GDR. They point out the right to work, low rents, kindergartens, and so on. One the one hand,

you are a product of the GDR, but, on the other hand, you have also close contacts with the Social Democrats in the FRG, so that you are able to say what appears to be unrenounceable for the GDR people, what is desirable, and what can be done. What has to be given up and what must be preserved?

[Boehme] Dealing specifically with the social sector, I think that it is absolutely necessary to change and renounce the old principle of the social state by which the idea of the social state and sociocritical measures that force the people into inconsistency, immaturity, and the reduction of any creativity were conveyed to the people by laws or decisions in the heydays of, for example, party congresses and similar events. This is one component of the occupation of the state and the society and the incapacitation of the people by one party.

I believe that in any case, considering the financial and economic consequences that the GDR people will have to face, a social charter is unrenounceable for them. Considering the new subsidy structure, unemployment, and so on, with which the people will be confronted, it is absolutely necessary that this will be implemented at once as an immediate measure, if possible, before 18 March. I think that, together with other democratic forces, we Social Democrats will be able to implement this.

Permit me to say one last thing: What we need now in this respect is a works constitution law with free trade unions and works councils as real representations of the employees' interests.

Opinion Poll Gives SPD 36 Percent Support

LD1602215290 Hamburg DPA in German 1615 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The conservative alliance of the Christian Democratic Union, the German Social Union, and Democratic Awakening in the GDR, which is supported by the union in the Federal Republic, is favored by seven percent of the electorate. This emerges from an opinion poll published today by the Bonn-based Infas Institute for ARD's "Report from Bonn" on the 18 March elections in the GDR. With a 36 percent share, the Social Democratic Party continues to be the clear leader. The other figures are: for the Party of Democratic Socialism, five percent, the Liberals and the Peasants' Party, two percent each. Around 45 percent of those entitled to vote are still undecided on whom they want to support, according to the poll.

Gysi Notes French Concerns on Unification

LD2202084190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0257 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today, Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi said that the German question must, from the outset, be linked up with the interests of other peoples. "Politicians who seek a detached German go-it-alone path are contributing to the uncertainty of our neighbors. And this is the very thing that should be avoided".

In France there are hopes, but also concerns, surrounding the further developments in the GDR and the growing together of the two German states. In all his recent talks in France, it has become clear that it is important to take these concerns seriously, Gysi stressed. Both in his presentation at a colloquium at the Sorbonne, and in his talks with various politicians from East and West, the position of the PDS on the growing together of the two German states has been noted with interest.

Gysi Answers Questions

AU2102135490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 3

[Report on news conference with Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi by unidentified reporters in Schwerin on 15 February]

[Text] [Reporter] Comrade Gysi, what is the attitude of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]

On German Unity?

[Gysi] It will be impossible to prevent it because an earthquake can also not be prevented by law. The question is the course it takes. There must be stages that cannot be simply omitted because otherwise everything gets mixed up. A reasonable pace is only possible with an independent, sovereign GDR. Moreover, the Germans are not alone in the world, even though at present it looks as if this were the case.

On Democracy in the GDR?

[Gysi] At present, we have political and democratic rights that have never existed in the FRG.

On the Election Campaign?

[Gysi] We are in favor of a quiet election campaign that is not directed against others but, based on expert knowledge, toward the future. The best method is to talk with one's colleague, spouse, friend, and neighbor.

On Social Security?

[Gysi] The PDS will struggle for every individual point. Jobs, rents, savings accounts, nursery places, school meals.... We would not voluntarily give up anything. The things that have been achieved in this field in our country were not presents from the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany as is frequently claimed. The citizens worked for them. Why should they give them up now? If the GDR no longer exists, but only one Germany, the social pressure that a socialist German state has always exerted on the other country will be gone.

On Agricultural Policy

[Gysi] At present, the most important thing is to secure the peasants' social status and thus their existence. The anschluss to the FRG also means the anschluss to the EC market with catastrophic consequences for our cooperatives. We also want more ecology in agriculture. If not enough peasants are elected to the People's Chamber, we could envision a kind of peasants' parliament in addition.

On a Youth Concept?

[Gysi] Ideas to this effect should not come from the Presidium or the Executive Committe of the party, but from the Young Comrades' Working Group. Otherwise the young people will again be told from above what they have to like. I think they themselves know that much better. We are in favor of a sufficient youth representation in the parliaments and we want to see to it that young people will be able to travel more and as cheaply as possible. Not only in the FRG—there are also other countries in Europe—for a European consciousness is more important than an exclusively German one.

Further on Unification Views

PM1602105490 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 9 Feb 90 p 15

[Interview with Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi by Vanna Vannuccini in East Berlin; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] East Germany—[Vannuccini] What would you say about the situation now? Even Hans Modrow is now talking about a united homeland of Germany: What is the position of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]?

[Gysi] I would say that the prime minister has been overinterpreted. If you examine his idea properly it envisions the attainment—via a contractual community [comunita contrattuale] that already embodies confederative structures—first, of a confederation and later, of German unity under a European roof and within the framework of a new order of peace. In other words, it is the presentation of a process, of the various necessary steps to reach an objective, without a precise timetable. According to Modrow, at the end there should be a neutral Germany. We, however, say: a demilitarized Germany so that no threats to the neighboring countries can stem from Germany.

[Vannuccini] You were in Moscow recently. What impressions did you bring back? Is it possible to discuss the proposal of a united Germany that belongs politically to NATO but that in military terms does not transcend its present territory?

[Gysi] Our idea of demilitarization is in line with the superpowers' disarmament plans. But what the political position of a demilitarized Germany may be, and whether it can operate within the EC or, rather, within some other political alliance—this is perhaps secondary. In my opinion, both blocs—and not only the Warsaw Pact—are losing their raison d'etre.

[Vannuccini] Do you agree with an immediate monetary union with the FRG?

[Gysi] I believe that economic union is necessary, but this does not yet imply state unity. The monetary issue must be approached with a view to making our currency partly, then completely, convertible. I am not sure whether this will necessitate monetary union or whether it will be enough to establish exchange relations. It is a matter for experts to decide. The FRG should pay an equal share of the burdens (that since the war have been borne entirely by the GDR)—or however else you want to define the financing of an economic reform. It is in its own interest, as well.

This is why the contractual community is a necessary stage, and it is also necessary that the GDR's autonomy and independence be maintained in order to carry out the unity process. If unity were to turn into annexation instead of negotiation, the GDR citizens would pay the price. It is a matter not only of saving elements of socialism, but of very practical matters affecting thousands of people: For instance, there are ay least 100,000 plots of land belonging to FRG citizens and on which GDR citizens later constructed their homes. Not to mention the huge economic differences, which demand that we proceed gradually. It is the politicians' job to explain to people what is and is not possible.

[Vannuccini] You are thinking in the long term, but the problem is that people are leaving. The rate of 3,000 people a day is rising: It is said that a million citizens have packed their bags already and that this will lead to economic collapse within a matter of weeks.

[Gysi] The number is increasing partly because people believe that there will be a "problematical" reunification: They envision the disruptions that it will cause in the GDR and would rather be on the sunny side when that happens. Economic assistance is needed and there must be political backing, but the problems are psychological, too. The sudden opening of the borders and the Western media campaign have created the impression in people that they have not lived for 40 years, that nothing has happened here for 40 years—which is not entirely true. For instance, much has been done with regard to education. This trauma has deprived people of a sense of their dignity and has caused a certain irrationality and therefore a radicalization. Together with this, there is social unease, the fear of unemployment.

Since nobody can tolerate feeling guilty, people need scapegoats. There is certainly justification for some of these, such as Stasi or the party. But now the renewed party is also under fire, and if we had disbanded it would have been something else. Those who hold political responsibility should help to lessen the current polarization because we have to coexist, come what may. There

are instances of violence and threats against individuals whose sole fault is that they refused to return their party membership cards.

[Vannuccini] How do you judge the West German parties' involvement in your election campaign?

[Gysi] The danger stems from the fact that Western politicians are transferring their own election campaign onto the GDR's territory. Nor does it seem to me exemplary for them to entirely appropriate the new parties, taking complete responsibility for their organization and for directing their election campaigns.

Gysi Proposes PDS Funds for Social Services

LD1602205890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi has proposed that the 3.041 billion marks allocated to his party in the GDR state budget be used for the health and social services—if need be for wages and pension increases—environmental projects, as well as for science and culture. In a letter to Premier Dr. Hans Modrow, he asked in addition that 32.5 million marks be made available to the special school for deaf and handicapped children in Eberswalde (Frankfurt district), it emerges from a PDS press statement today.

Emanating from a request from the GDR Journalists' Association (VDJ) for a donation to help journalists in social need, Gysi would, in addition to his letter, support aid to the VDJ to the tune of 300,000 marks.

PDS Draft Program Outlines Goals, Positions

AU1902124190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 90 pp 3-4

[Unattributed report: "Program of the Party of Democratic Socialism (Draft)"]

[Text] The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] is presenting this program at a time full of hopes and fears. This program marks our positions and goals in the stormy processes of our time.

Mankind is facing the threshold to the third millennium. How will it cross this threshold: in peace and prosperity or in conflict and misery?

Never before in history have the people produced so many goods on the one hand and distributed them so unjustly on the other. Never before have they accumulated a larger heap of means of destruction with which human civilization could be annihilated for all eternity.

It is a time of unbeknown chances and incalculable risks, a time of upheaval, of newly determining values and paths.

Things that have not stood the test of time are left behind on the ash heap of history. These also include Stalinist-type socialism. By suppressing the free development of the individual as a condition for the free development of society, it violated one of the greatest humanistic ideas of mankind's history. Even the term socialism is discredited. Whoever adheres to it is suspected of wanting to have the Stalinist time back. Even though we do understand this, it is nevertheless true that it is not socialism as an alternative to capitalism that failed, but the social concept and social form of the so-called "real existing socialism."

Socialism of the Stalinist type ceases to exist. Its end is the end of an illusion but not the end of the socialist vision. Nevertheless, we are far from assessing its history in an undifferentiated way and without taking into consideration the national and international context.

Even though capitalism has proved to be economically efficient, it has also proved unable to live up to the global interest of mankind in safeguarding peace, disarmament, and establishing a balanced relationship with nature and to guarantee social justice. The strong capitalist industrial states ensure their wealth to a not-inconsiderable extent at the cost of the peoples in the developing countries. They struggle against establishing a more just international economic system.

Socialism as the sum total of age-old ideals of mankind—social justice, solidarity, freedom for the oppressed, help to the weak—is everlasting, no matter how often its opponents have said it is dead. As an offer to the people to deal with each other in a more humane way and with more solidarity, it is more topical than ever for the path into a safe future.

I. Who We Are and What We Want

A German Socialist Party—Not a Class Party

The PDS considers itself to be a German socialist party that is following the path and striving for the goal of democratic socialism together with other leftist and democratic forces. The members of our party unreservedly advocate the peaceful completion of the changes toward a new, humane society, which were started in the fall of 1989 by the democratic popular movement. This movement should take in the things that are worth preserving and that have been achieved as a result of the sacrificial work of millions of people, of the humanistic ideals of socialism, and of its antifascist roots on German soil over the past decades.

Democratic socialism—for us this means advocating a peaceful society in solidarity with freely developing individuals and with equal participation by all in the economic, political, and intellectual-cultural life.

Democratic socialism—for us there is nothing that has yet been concluded, not a social system, which we will have shortly, but a path, a constant task and challenge.

Democratic socialism—this means a meaningful life of the people in new social conditions in which exploitation, oppression, alienation, and social marginalization are overcome.

The PDS is not a class party but is open to all forces of the people that advocate a society of social justice and human relations of solidarity. It feels particularly pledged to the interests of the workers. It does not want to be the vanguard of one class or one stratum. It does not strive for a monopoly on power. Intellectual intolerance, belief in infallibility, missionary zeal, and political sectarianism are alien to it. There is no monopoly on truth.

The party gets its political understanding from the movements of the German and international workers movement, from the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the people, and from antifascism. The PDS is aware of many contacts with pacifist and religiously founded humanistic standpoints and takes them in.

We draw from the dialectic, materialistic, and historical thinking, in particular from theoretical views of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Lenin and Gramsci, and the varied developments following them. We feel closely linked with the concept of perestroyka and glasnost. The party takes in all these ideas with a critical mind.

In order to master the present and the future, one needs the entire treasure of modern, progressive, theoretical social thinking of our time. The PDS is for a rationally founded approach to the social process and policy, and uses all possibilities of receiving advice by an independent science.

Membership in the party is not linked with a certain ideology. The party gets its cohesion from the common political goals of its members. The formulation of its goals includes the competition of ideas of its members, of platforms, and movements within the party. Democratic structures ensure that the party is a party of its members that is able to act and ensure the formation of democratic will from below to above. The bases of actions are decisions that are made by the majority. Minorities have the right to advocate their standpoint publicly and to submit it for decision again.

The party is striving for agreement and common actions with other parties and democratic movements to solve vital questions of mankind. It is in favor of partner relations with the social democracy. As a German socialist party, it is part of the broad international democratic and leftist movements that advocate peace, democracy, and social progress. It wants to cooperate with all forces that work for a humanistic solution to the global problems of our time.

Basic Values of Democratic Socialism

Basic values of democratic socialism, to which our party is pledged, are:

1. Individuality. This includes the free development of thinking and feeling, of the skills and talents of every person, the realization of individual desires and likings, the shaping of rich social relations with other people, and the individual's independence in judging and acting.
2. Solidarity. We want to develop and strengthen solidarity between the working people, the generations, the sexes, the peoples, the nations, and the nationalities.
3. Justice. Every person, every social and national group, every democratic political force is to have the same opportunities and the same rights to introduce its interest into society.
4. Meaningful work and leisure time. This presupposes the efficient shaping of working conditions, a gradual reduction and increased flexibility of work time in the interest of the working people, and contents of work that promote one's personality. The possibility must be expanded to creatively shape one's leisure time in line with one's own ideas and to thus find the leisure, relaxation, and stimulation that is necessary for the well-being and development of humanity.
5. Freedom, democracy, and human rights. Respecting the dignity and freedom of every individual person is indispensable for social coexistence in democracy. Human rights in their unity and universality are a decisive yardstick of social actions for us.
6. Preserving the natural bases of life. The existence of us all depends on this. Therefore, the economy and the ecology must be linked in a new way, both in the comprehensive social reproduction process and at the international level. Values, structures of needs, and life-styles must be subordinate to the goal of leaving our earth as a habitable planet to the following generations.

7. Internal and external peace. A political culture of the coexistence of man, which is characterized by nonviolence, tolerance, mutual respect of the social groups, the sexes, generations, and nationalities, by dialogue and creative conflict of opinions, love for peace, humanism, antifascism, friendship among peoples, and respect for other cultures, is indispensable for safeguarding peace in our society and among the peoples.

Our Goals

Our goal is the development and implementation of democracy. We want to contribute a leftist, socialist policy to the development of our country. We are for a society that:

—guarantees free space for the initiative and development of every individual;
—through efficient market economy ensures a high degree of social and ecological security, equal opportunities and personal freedom for all members of the society;
—is based on social property in industry, agriculture, and other economic branches;

—ensures co-determination of the working people at all levels;
—solves all questions democratically and does not marginalize minorities;
—has a science that uses its freedom to serve the people in a farsighted manner;
—is a modern law-governed state in which the individual and political, as well as social, cultural, and collective, human rights are implemented;
—guarantees a healthy way of life and free medical care for everyone and gives social warmth, protection, and help to children, older citizens, handicapped people, and all weak people in general;
—ensures actual social equality of the sexes;
—protects the family and all other forms of living together;
—facilitates decent living conditions to everyone;
—facilitates an independent development of the communities through citizen-friendly structures;
—ensures opportunities for broad political, vocational, and cultural development of the young people and promotes all forms of sports;
—is a cultural society in which the entire wealth of the individual can develop, and in which science, education, and culture develop freely and are accessible to all the people;
—works for peace, general, and complete disarmament, openness toward the world, friendship and solidarity with all peoples, for a more just international economic order, and for respecting every people's right to self-determination;
—brings its national sovereignty to bear in order to contribute its own identity to the growing together of the two German states on the path toward a united Europe.

II. The Path of Progress in Our Society

Market Economy and Social Ideals

The PDS is for an economy that distinguishes itself by high efficiency and creates prosperity for all. Our concern is a market economy with marked social and ecological goals that stimulates and rewards performance and promotes economic initiative in every way. In the interest of the common welfare of our society and future generations, free regulations of the market must be supplemented by democratic public control and strategic planning by the state.

For us a market economy is the means of satisfying the demands of the producers and consumers in an efficient way and of living up to the increasing social requirements. In this spirit, a market economy, which is geared to the common welfare of the society and to the welfare of every individual, is not a contradiction to socialist values.

As a party of social security, which feels particularly pledged to the interests of the working people, we are in favor of a market economy concept:

—that does not give up the results of our people's work over decades and in which social property remains the dominant form of property;
—that offers everyone the opportunity to determine his standard of living, as well as his vocational and social position, himself through his performance;
—in which the constitutional right to work is guaranteed also under the conditions of a market economy;
—that is pledged to a way of producing and living that reduces the strain on the environment and aims at an ecological restructuring of society.

We are for really making state property the people's property by having the producers really decide on the means and results of production. We are for such proportions between the various forms of ownership that correspond to the social and ecological requirements.

The working people are to be made interested in the economic results of the enterprises through getting part of the profit and other measures.

The party says yes to opening the GDR national economy to the world economy, but it is in favor of equal rights in international economic cooperation. We support an all-European economic area and the basic renewal and democratization of CEMA.

Workers Democracy as a Counterweight

The democratic shaping of the market economy requires the working people's own representation of social and economic interest by free, independent, and strong trade unions, which have their basis in enterprises and companies of all forms of ownership. A comprehensive democratization of society requires real workers democracy.

The party is in favor of having workers or social councils elected in a free and democratic way. It is for forming democratic representative bodies in enterprises with foreign capital participation. These social boards of governors are to be composed of elected representatives of the working people, managers, capital investors, representatives of the region, and of experts, and is to ensure the working people's influence on strategic decisions.

In all questions of social policy, the working people, the citizens of our country, must be able to really participate in decision-making.

Under market economy conditions, the network of legal and social safeguards is to be expanded. In this process, the pensioners, as well as those people who are less capable of performance as a result of age, physical or mental handicaps, or special social conditions, are to be given a safe material existence and a meaningful life.

Decent Working Conditions and Work for All

We want decent working conditions and work for all. The problems emerging in the course of structural changes must be countered by socially supported retraining programs for the working people and social

safeguards for the transition to new jobs. We call for social programs concerning rationalization and changes in the economic structures.

We need a clear structural policy on the national economy, strong stimuli toward a modern service sector, and an efficient infrastructure. We are for a structural change that favors economic sectors with good traditions and the ability to survive on the world market, which integrates technologies of the future in a sensible way, ensures a dynamic balance in the national economy, and reduces the accumulated obsolescence, in particular in culture, the health and social sectors, and in the fields of infrastructure.

A new energy policy plays a key role in the necessary structural change and ecological restructuring of the society. A drastic reduction of energy consumption and a clearly reduced use of brown coal in the economy and in households is urgently necessary. We are for a radical, economically stimulated thrift course concerning energy that is based largely on fundamental technological innovations and includes a gradual turning away from energy-intensive production and consumption structures. A social consensus must be achieved about the prospects of nuclear energy in our country.

We are in favor of adopting responsibility for protecting the natural environment and ecologically responsible economic management. We are for a qualitative economic growth and proceed from the premise that today this is compatible with decreasing strain on the environment and production input, which eases the strain on resources. The reform of the systems of prices, taxes, charges, and subsidies should make things that damage the ecology expensive and things that are beneficial to the economy advantageous.

Sure Prospects for the Peasants

Our party is in favor of an agriculture that meets demands, is efficient, and is oriented toward ecology. Above all, we are for:

—agricultural producer cooperatives, horticultural producer cooperatives, state farms, and other forms of cooperatives or enterprises that have to stand their test on the market as juridically and economically independent enterprises of a new type, to form the bases of the existence of hundreds of thousands of cooperative peasants and agricultural workers;
—the inviolability of the ownership of land and of the results of the land reform, for the principle of social welfare in soil cultivation, and against any kind of speculation involving land;
—a market of producer goods and fodder, as well as sales organizations, which are subjected to the democratic control and influence of the agricultural producers via their associations;
—an agricultural community between the GDR and the FRG embedded in a program of adjustment to the European agriculture, which ensures the competitiveness of the agricultural enterprises;
—self-administered villages in which the rising demands on life by the inhabitants are taken into account and where the typical things of life in a village are preserved.

For the Development of Crafts and Small Business

Our party supports a large role by private crafts and small business, of small and medium-sized private enterprises in production, and in the hotel, restaurant, and service sector. Freedom of business, a tax law that promotes initiatives, overcoming regulating administration, as well as access to machines, material, and other conditions, are to promote private interests in profit for the benefit of the consumers in the future. We are for equality of all forms of ownership under tax law.

A Society of Solidarity and Tolerance

We want a socially just society, a society of solidarity in which the various social classes, strata, groups, and all citizens can freely develop their interests and can introduce their experiences and values into the society on the basis of varied forms of ownership. This requires:

1. Social security: This includes indivisible social guarantees for every individual concerning work, education, medical care, housing, and food, as well as protection against violent social upheavals in one's life. Unemployment, fear for one's existence, and poverty are as incompatible with this as are privileges.
2. Taking performance into consideration by a differentiated distribution of social prosperity, which stimulates the individual to fully develop his performance capability and to use it for his own and for society's benefit. This must be linked with solidarity for all who are physically and mentally handicapped.
3. Equal social opportunities in access to culture, education, and qualification. The solidarity compensation for unfavorable social and natural starting conditions for the development of one's personality is as important for this as the social promotion of talents and skills.
4. Establishment of conditions for the social integration of handicapped and socially weak citizens.
5. Making women and men equal in all social spheres of life. Social regulations that are aimed at making parenthood, having a household, and work compatible must apply to both partners. Overcoming male-dominated structures and relations, making the sexes equal in attractive professions and in management, as well as the improvement of living conditions for older women and single parents, are particularly urgent commands of social justice. The constitutional right to work must protect women in particular. Equal wages are to be paid for equal work.

6. Recognition and establishment of conditions for the implementation of the basic rights of the young people to political self- and co-determination, to education, leisure time, recreation/travel, to a life in peace and a healthy environment, and to the promotion of their individuality. We demand a state youth policy that supports the

initiative of the young people without patronizing them. We are for relations of mutual acceptance and tolerance between the generations.

7. Safeguarding good living conditions and new prospects of life for older citizens. We are for providing broad opportunities to older citizens to usefully participate in social life, to respect their experiences in life and work and their advice, to give retirees the just recognition of their achievements in life, and to thus provide them with a secure material existence.

8. Promotion of families and other forms of living together. We are for the protection and development of the family. This includes the establishment of a climate that is beneficial for children and parents, the revaluation of relations between the generations, the safeguarding of housing needs of families and social services for families, and the introduction of work time that is beneficial to families, for instance by means of flextime. We are for social acceptance, legal, social, and moral equality of all forms of partnership, and consider the equalization of living conditions of cohabitation and families based on marriage, as well as full respect and equal legal conditions for homosexual cohabitation, as indispensable.

9. Promotion of cultural identity and independence of the Sorb minority.

10. Friendly relations of solidarity with foreign citizens. Cooperation with foreign citizens who work and live in our country requires mutual respect and social cooperation, and facilitates mutual cultural enrichment. The party clearly dissociates itself from hostility toward foreigners. It is in favor of relations with our foreign fellow citizens that prevent social and cultural discrimination and isolation and permit social integration.

Law-Governed State and Separation of Powers

For us democracy is a basic goal, a value in itself, and an indispensable part of shaping society. We are striving for a higher quality of democracy in which parliamentary democracy is closely linked with workers and economic democracy, as well as with communal self-administration. We are against any kind of state and apparatus for supervision and oppression. We want to contribute to establishing a democratic law-governed state that is based on comprehensive legally regulated basic rights of the citizen, which can be enforced by the courts. The citizen must be permitted to do everything that is not prohibited by law. The state is permitted to do only what the law commands.

We are for:

—unrestricted authority of the people's representative bodies as the supreme organs of power and for general, free, equal, direct, and secret elections. Questions of vital importance for the people must be decided by a referendum. The government majority and the opposition are correlates of parliamentary democracy. Political minorities must be able to advocate their interests;

—separation of powers of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches. We are for recognizing a fourth power: publicity and the media. Publicity includes the transparency of all basic state and social processes of decision-making and manifold forms of social control;

—a political pluralism of parties, organizations, associations, and movements, and for their guaranteed influence on the state's processes of decisionmaking;

—communal self-administration and self-determination in the regional divisions as the basis of the democratic community;

—an administrative reform with the reintroduction of the lander structures in order to achieve increased autonomy, decentralization, and efficiency, as well as the citizens' identification with historically developed regional characteristics;

—varied forms of the democratic formation of will and democratic co-determination from below to above, which prevents the monopolization of power in the economy, state, and society;

—A constitutional ban on neofascism, racism, anti-Semitism, chauvinism, and war propaganda;

—nonviolence in political conflicts. The state's monopoly on force must be regulated by law and must be democratically controlled;

—civilized, constructive political conflict that is able to advance social progress. We are against the kind of political competition that eliminates the opponent.

Culture for Everyone, Education for All. Sciences That Propose Varieties of Development. Promotion of Health and Sports

The cultural values, norms, and goals of the individual and of all society are to be derived from a new quality of life and coexistence of the people and are to aim at this. In this spirit, a cultural society must ensure the balance of orientation toward performance, free space for the development of individuality, social security, and ecological compatibility.

We are for the freedom and independence of culture and the arts, the media, of science and education. There must not be any kind of regimentation, except for the prevention of war and racist incitement, anti-Semitism, fascism, hostility toward foreigners, and other attacks on human dignity. A modern cultural society includes a political culture of dialogue and citizens initiatives, of tolerance, and civilized dealings with each other.

In the interest of all working people, we call for the appropriate promotion of the capacity and creativity of the artistic, scientific, technical, medical, and pedagogical intelligentsia in line with their social importance.

The people of our country find essential matters of their identity expressed in the GDR's culture and, at the same time, they live in an awareness of the unity of German culture. They need to experience other cultures, the European culture and the world culture. Sorb culture must be protected and promoted. Foreign citizens have

equal rights to participate in cultural life and must be permitted to develop their own cultural identity.

Our culture policy proceeds from the living process of working people. We are striving for:

—an everyday culture in work, leisure time, and the shaping of one's housing conditions, which ensures the overall development, health, and well-being of the people and establishes the infrastructure necessary for this;
—the preservation of nature and the environment, an ecological awareness, and the preservation of everything that is historically valuable;
—a culture for everyone, for majorities and minorities, for different inclinations and needs;
—the protection and promotion of the arts under changed economic conditions, the development of all their functions and opportunities, the protection and preservation of valuable historical monuments;
—modern media as indispensable organs of pluralistic democracy and of a varied cultural and artistic life that are democratically controlled as public institutions;
—decentralization of cultural work with simultaneous central state responsibility for the basic cultural standard.

Science has a fundamental function in the cultural development of society. We are for an intellectual climate that challenges scientists to propose varieties of development because this facilitates meaningful policy.

—for the promotion and efficient utilization of scientific results as a task of top priority;
—for the unity of natural, technical, human, and social sciences and arts;
—for a meaningful connection between the development of basic research and applied research, as well as for a broad international scientific exchange;
—for special promotion of the striving for creative scientific solutions;

Education and training have a high standing in the development of every person and for mastering the future. We want:

—an education sector that provides free education to the citizens, establishes equal opportunities for education for everyone, and sets the preconditions for the differentiated development of the individuality and the training of every individual;

—An education sector that conveys humanistic values, good knowledge of foreign languages, and polytechnic education;
—a process of education and tests that promotes independence and creativity at all levels and excludes any kind of hypocrisy and double-talk;
—joint education of boys and girls and the integration of foreign and handicapped children and young people;
—democratic participation of parents and teachers, pupils and students in decisionmaking in the education facilities.

A healthy way of living for the individual, social conditions for this, and medical care at a high level have a high standing in the standard of living we are striving for. Therefore, we want:
—clear and speedy improvement of the material equipment in the health sector, which corresponds to its importance for the people's lives;
—ensured gratuity of medical care for the citizens;
—general access to and equal opportunities in making use of medical services;
—relations between patient and doctor that are not subjected to market economy mechanisms.

We are for sports that are oriented toward the interests of the citizens and have a firm place in all stages of life (from preschool education to mass and athletic sports to sports for the elderly and handicapped. We are for sport that is promoted by social and private initiative and facilitates the top development of athletic talents without any thought of prestige. Working conditions and prospects for athletes and exercise managers must be ensured. For us the call for attractive offerings of mass sports is our priority.

III. Europe and the Germans

Our goal is a demilitarized united Europe of national, social, cultural, and regional variety. If we do not want to endanger stability on the continent, its peaceful and cooperative prospects, the interests of the European and non-European peoples and states, and the national interests of the Germans in both states, the solution of the German question can be achieved only within an all-European process. The PDS wants a growing together of the two German states, whose citizens are linked by common traits within the framework of a historically developed nation. We want to influence the process of shaping a community of treaties, its development toward close confederative relations between the states, and the development of a united German state in such a beneficial way that every step toward this end counters negative processes and is aimed at improvements for the GDR population.

On both sides, the profound socioeconomic and social differences make different demands on the policy of growing together, on introducing the currency, economic, and social union, and on the harmonization of laws. These differences make it necessary that every state actively exercises its own sovereignty in order to introduce its values into this community.

A Good Whole Made of Stable Parts

A good whole consists of stable parts. Stabilizing the conditions in the GDR and thus saving the FRG population from the effects of a destabilization in the East are necessary preconditions for a future German unity. The PDS is for a consolidated GDR because only in this way

can things be contributed to a future German unity that promote more security, democracy, and social progress in Europe.

Important echelons of the growing together of the two German states are:

—the interlacing of the national economies: In this connection, it is particularly important for the citizens that, through the convertibility of the currency, they become confident at home that they will be increasingly able to fulfill their wishes with the money they earn through good work;
—harmonization of social policy: for future work in both German states, against the social marginalization of parts of the population, for social protection of the GDR citizens in making the transition to market economy principles, for dealing with the social nets in a responsible way;
—transition toward security partnership: as a contribution to collective security in Europe by reducing the National People's Army and the Bundeswehr, through abolishing compulsory military service, through cutting military expenditures for the benefit of joint civilian projects, through renouncing the modernization of weapons, and through establishing a mutual incapability to attack in Central Europe. The goal remains the complete demilitarization of both German states.

Both States Have to Change

In the GDR, the break with the centrist-administrative type of socialism has to be carried through to its end: to a real democracy of the citizens, to new humanistic ethics, to a market economy that is pledged to the social and ecological interests of the population and does not first lead through the valley of impoverishment of many people.

The FRG cannot simply force its current political and parliamentary system on the GDR. Strong military-industrial complexes, life at the cost of the peoples in the developing countries, social marginalization of considerable parts of the population, unemployment, retreat from attacks by ultrarightism, nationalism, and national intolerance, nonrecognition of the Oder and Neisse rivers as Poland's western border are detrimental to the unity of the German nation, and to peaceful coexistence with the neighbors in a common European home.

The path toward German unity is to be shaped as part of the development of Europe toward a demilitarized, peaceful, democratic, and social Europe that makes an unprecedented contribution to solving the global problems.

We consider it indispensable that both states contribute their advantages to their growing together and that the continuance of these advantages is ensured by means of contracts, regardless of how their coming about may be assessed. If the two German states are united, the land reform and its results and thus the legal conditions in the countryside, the rights to property by the communities concerning formerly expropriated land and housing, must be recognized for the GDR citizens. Independent of former conditions of ownership, the validity of contracts for use and tenancy, as well as the existing status of ownership in enterprises, must be guaranteed. Property of GDR citizens, which they have worked for for decades, on land used by them and rights for use given to them must not be touched.

Our party works for the growing together of the Germans in a reform process in East and West becoming a contribution to a democratic, socially just, ecologically oriented society full of solidarity on German soil and all over Europe. The coexistence of the Germans is to promote the peaceful coexistence of all Europeans in West and East.

We are for internal peace in both German states, for a joint security and environmental policy, for social economic obligations so that the entire German nation makes a respectable contribution to a European development in which it is not profit but the well-being of the people that is the measure of all things. We want a demilitarized and democratic Europe that provides decisive stimuli to a worldwide new logic of development and that is oriented toward mankind's interests.

We are for having the GDR foreign policy promote peace-oriented interlacing of our society with other societies in all spheres of development instead of an isolation of the country from international trends.

We are for a new quality of the CSCE process and its comprehensive institutionalization as the main path toward a united Europe.

The PDS considers it a special duty to work in this process as part of the European left, to develop close relations with all leftist forces, and, not least, to thus promote progressive developments in Europe.

The unreserved respect for the borders and security interests of the neighboring countries belongs to the decisive cornerstones of the national and European policy guidelines of the PDS.

Both German states should advocate reducing the military character and expanding the political character of the alliance systems with the goal of their ultimate abolition, and the gradual withdrawal of foreign forces within the framework of a pan-European security system. We want to overcome the division of Europe into blocs and we want a final peace regulation with the German states.

In the economic, social, political, ecological, and cultural spheres, we are for pan-European integration in which mutual isolation is overcome and mutual opening up and cooperation are strengthened.

A World Without War and Violence Is Not a Utopia

Our party is for establishing a system of comprehensive security on the basis of the UN Charter. It is to comprise political, economic, ecological, humanitarian, and other cooperation, which will lead to an intensive interlacing of interests between the states and peoples. Together with effective political and legal instruments of the international community, it must form the reliable basis of general security. The goal of a political system of international security must be the overcoming of the current mentality of deterrence, the military threat to other peoples, as well as the ending of nuclear and conventional competition. War must finally be banished from the lives of peoples everywhere and forever!

General and complete disarmament is our goal. The obstacles in the way of and the resistance against this goal are large. A realistic path and intermediate steps are necessary that are also acceptable to the current opponents of a nuclear-free world.

We consider the following as steps that have to be taken in the near future:

—the radical reduction of strategic nuclear weapons of the USSR and the United States to a minimum for the time being;
—the gradual elimination of tactical nuclear weapons;
—a universal, reliably verified ban on chemical weapons;
—the reduction of forces and conventional armaments in Europe down to a mutual incapability to attack;
—the prevention of a high-technological arms race and dangerous modernization of weapons and war equipment;
—comprehensive confidence building including joint efforts for education to peace, which forswears old and new enemy images;
—the general exclusion of the use of force in any form against other states and peoples;
—the cessation of arms exports to regional hotbeds of tension;
—the reduction of expenditures on armaments; a considerable part of the freed financial means is to be given in particular to the poorest countries.

Our Vision as Part of Mankind's Progress

We consider the alliance between the GDR and the Soviet Union as a decisive condition of their ability to exist and develop, and as a factor of European stability in the current stage of upheaval. We emphatically affirm our solidarity and support for a socially progressive and democratic renewal of the societies in the Soviet Union and in other countries. This goal is served by the close and friendly relations between the CPSU and the PDS.

We see our Eastern neighbors as important partners of the GDR. We guarantee the inviolability of their borders. The party is working for the democratization of the Warsaw Pact. Mutual trust, respect for interests, and full opening up for social exchange are necessary conditions for future cooperation.

The party exercises active solidarity with the peoples in the Third World in order to contribute in the joint struggle to alleviating and ultimately overcoming hunger, poverty, and the destruction of the environment.

Together with all forces of democratic socialism in east and west, north and south, we are for the implementation of the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity in a society of social justice and solidarity. For us this is the core of the vision of democratic socialism as part of mankind's progress.

Thuringian FDP Rejects Election Alliance

AU2102155890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Thuringian FDP Nominates Its Own Candidates"]

[Text] Jena—The Thuringian section of the Free Democratic Party [FDP] has rejected the election alliance forged at the highest level between the FDP, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the German Forum Party. Eckhard Probandt, a founding member of the Thuringian section, stressed that his section does not support this decision, and that it will nominate its own candidates for the upcoming elections to the People's Chamber to give the citizens the possibility to vote for a party that is free from the burdens of the past.

Lambsdorff Supports League of Free Democrats

AU2102152290 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 19 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Free Democratic Party (FDP) Chairman Otto Graf Lambsdorff by DER MORGEN in Berlin on 17 February: "FDP Keeps Its Word"]

[Text] [DER MORGEN] The Liberals are preparing for the elections in the GDR in the League of Free Democrats. Reportedly, however, the alliance of the Liberal Democratic Party, the Free Democratic Party [FDP] (GDR), and the German Forum Party is also rejected, for example, by the Thuringian FDP Group.

[Lambsdorff] I have heard of it. The FDP (GDR) has to expect such difficulties because the party was only founded three weeks ago. However, on the other hand, it is also clear that at the party's founding congress the petition not to form an alliance with the Liberal Democratic Party was rejected by 100 votes to 8. The three spokesmen, headed by Dr. Menzel, were authorized to conduct negotiations and to brief the Laender Council on the results. With eleven positive and five negative votes and two abstentions, Dr. Menzel achieved a clear majority on the result of the negotiations.

We attach importance to sticking to the results that were also signed by the FDP of the FRG. We clearly told the FDP in Thuringia that those who want to leave can do so. But they can no longer expect to be supported by the FDP in Bonn.

[DER MORGEN] What is your attitude to the demand to make a coalition statement, for example, in favor of the Alliance for Germany, as early as now?

[Lambsdorff] Somebody who only has a rough look at the opinion polls—that, in view of 50 percent undecided people, I do not regard as reliable—will make a fool of himself if he already strives for a coalition with the Alliance for Germany by calculations. I recommend to everyone to say in this situation: We do not make statements on a coalition. These are the first free elections here, and we should first meet together in parliament and then consider with whom the problems of our country can be solved.

[DER MORGEN] That is to say, the leadership of the Bonn FDP stands unswervingly by the League of Free Democrats?

[Lambsdorff] We want to avoid liberal groups in this country competing with each other in the elections. The FDP (FRG) will stick to the joint list. By the way, I think that the results of the distribution of the lists at the session on 15 February are reasonable and good.

Attends Berlin Meeting

AU2102145290 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 19 Feb 90 p 1

[Hans-Joerg Heims article: "Liberals Are Challenged"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—The changes in Eastern and Central Europe and the challenges resulting from them for the Liberals were the focus of a conference of the Liberal International (LI) and the Federation of Liberal Democratic Reform Parties in the EC (ELDR) in Berlin on 17 February. Acting LI President Otto Graf Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party [FDP], and ELDR President Colette Flesch reported on this at a news conference in the "Metropol" hotel. Graf Lambsdorff said that in Eastern and Central Europe there are currently 15 Liberal parties that have asked for support from the LI. Of course, possible German unity was also discussed at the meeting. There was friendly agreement, but clear conditions were also formulated, Lambsdorff stated. This includes the question of the recognition of the Polish western border and the consideration of the European integration process. Colette Flesch said that she is pleased that such a meeting was held for the first time in Berlin. Referring to cooperation with the liberal groups developing in Eastern Europe, she said that this will concern the political, as well as the institutional sector.

In this context, it became known that the Liberal Group in the European Parliament wants to support the League of Free Democrats in the GDR in the election campaign. Former French President Valerie Giscard d'Estaing offered this in a letter.

In answer to questions from journalists, Graf Lambsdorff said: "The Liberal Democratic Party radically renewed itself as regards to persons and contents at its party congress." One should finally stop poking around in the past. "The people who lived here were frequently unable to act differently," the FDP politician said. He sharply criticized the GDR Government and its economic policy. "This government has not understood anything," Graf Lambsdorff said.

On 16 February, Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party met with Dr. Renato Altissime, secretary general of the Italian Liberal Party, for an exchange of opinions. [passage omitted]

CDU Office in Berlin-Mitte Attacked

LD2102162290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1340 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—There was an attack on the Berlin-Mitte office of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] on 20 February. The People's Police Presidium said that two double windows, behind which were party election posters, were smashed. The remaining windows and the front of the building were smeared with red latex paint, and slogans such as "CDU is right wing," "You've got to go," and "freedom instead of CDU" were daubed on the walls. White paper was stuck over smaller CDU posters. The police are conducting an investigation against unknown persons. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Addresses CDU Election Rally

LD1702224290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] is standing for the elections on 18 March for freedom, unity, and social justice. Party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere announced this today to several hundred Berliners at a rally where renowned representatives of the CDU from the East and the West presented their basic political principles. During the Berlin regional party congress of the GDR-CDU, they should in this way get to have talks with the voters and outline themes of the election campaign. [sentence as received]

De Maiziere said that the people in the GDR have already decided to vote out each variety of socialism. Referring to the expected unity of Germany, he emphasized that then aid for self-help has to be expected from the West. There should also be no worry about a monetary union although then, logically, the subsidies policy would have to be changed. De Maiziere assured the pensioners, above all, that there would be a balancing out.

Eberhard Diepgen, chairman of the West Berlin CDU area association, appeared optimistic that the population

would no longer allow its development to be taken out of its hands. The rule of only one party and state tutelage would no longer be permitted. He called on those who are still intending to leave the country not to take this step, for this would indirectly be a vote for the old system in the election.

Diepgen also spoke in favor of local elections on 6 May in Berlin in order for the citizens to legitimize the city parliament in face of the forthcoming important decisions. Diepgen said that the best thing, however, on this date would be elections for the whole of Berlin.

New Forum Defends Modrow Role in Dresden

AU2202085990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Modrow Against Violence Also in Autumn 1989"]

[Excerpt] Dresden—During the events in Dresden in October, Hans Modrow played an important role in ensuring that force would not be used in future confrontations, either.

This assessment was made by Dr. Dieter Reinfried in the Friday edition of SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG. Together with Dr. Horst Hillenhaagen, the New Forum spokesman, as a member of the commisson for the abolition of the Dresden DIstrict Office of National Security, made statements in an exclusive interview.

He even had the impression that in October and November Mr. Modrow sometimes evaded orders from Berlin, said Dr. Hillenhagen, who was a colonel in Berlin's State Security counterintelligence service before the change, and added: "Without wanting to anticipate the results of the investiations, by reading the existing documents—there are no written orders—I have become convinced that Hans Modrow did not give orders to General Boehm (former head of the district administration of the Ministry of State Security—ADN) at this time. Contacts were rare. Gen. Boehm briefed Hans Modrow on the situaton via telephone. In every other respect, orders clearly came from above, from Minister Mielke."

Dr. Reinfried stressed: "We have seen orders that came from Berlin and demanded the establishment of dialogue with New Forum, but only for the purpose of not accepting it. This was at the end of November, while Mr. Modrow was already holding talks with us on 25 October and had adopted a position that was clearly aimed at political solutions. According to his statement, he had exploited all his possibilities at the beginning of October, for instance, to make the transportation minister reroute the trains from Prague." [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Modrow's Talks in Bonn

AU2102142190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 90 p 2

[Rolf Guenther/Werner Otto commentary: "Step on a Difficult Road"]

[Text] Premier Hans Modrow acted as an honest broker of the GDR's interests in Bonn. He and his entourage did not permit themselves to be degraded to humble petitioners and "dragged across the table" without further ado. As an observer, one got the impression that, together with the government representatives, 16 million GDR citizens were sitting at the roundtable in Bonn with all their concerns and fears, but also with their claims and justified demands.

Of course, the optimum result of the negotiations might have been completely different. But this would have required the presentation of a clear concept on the negotiations by the FRG Government—as the GDR delegation did. Only ideas about an anschluss and a currency union by hook or by crook—this has nothing to do with a responsible approach to the complicated and complex problems and questions. Bonn's refusal to immediately help the GDR people with a contribution of solidarity also fits into this picture. While the FRG Government is still stalling in this respect, the Modrow government has made enormous efforts to create the legal framework for the economy, reforms, and cooperation in completely new dimensions since the Dresden agreements with Chancellor Kohl.

Despite such clear deficits, the negotiations in the Chancellor's Office led to decisive political results. They consist not least in the finding that all further steps toward an economic community and currency union of the two states are subject to the strict condition that the social benefits of the GDR citizens must continue to be secured. In this context, Modrow mentioned, among other things, old-age pensions, tolerable rents, and securing the savings and the peasants' real estate. The desired economic union must help to create these guarantees.

If the present impressions are not completely deceptive, the FRG side has accepted the concerns represented by the GDR delegation in remarkable solidarity and promised to take them into account. Now the experts have to concretely categorize the individual problems and the proposals for their solution. The expectation that the people's needs will not be ignored is connected with their responsible work.

Thus, the results of the negotiations have to be evaluated as a further step in the difficult process of the two states' cautious growing together. The agreement achieved in Bonn that the GDR and the FRG have to approach each other responsibly makes the deliberations on the Rhine so important.

Parties React to Kohl-Modrow Talks

AU1702173290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Reactions From Berlin"]

[Text] Social Democratic Party of Germany: Kohl's announcements are an "air bubble." According to DPA, the manager of the GDR Social Democrats, Ibrahim Boehme, told journalists on 13 February, when Prime Minister Modrow began his visit to Bonn, that he was "irritated and disappointed" at the fact that so far the Federal Government had practically done nothing to stabilize the situation. Thus the announcement made by Federal Chancellor Kohl in Dresden in December, that Bonn would give generous aid, had proved to be an "air bubble."

Democracy Now: The results are politically wrong. The Democracy Now citizens' movement says in a press statement that it considers the results achieved at the meeting between Prime Minister Modrow and Federal Chancellor Kohl "insufficient and politically wrong." Constructive steps leading to a common Germany, such as a treaty community and the forming of confederative structures, were dropped precipitously. Important conditions for a new unity of Germany, such as disarmament and demilitarization, as well as the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, were not taken into account by the federal chancellor, as expected.

Christian Democratic Union: Monetary union welcomed. The Christian Democratic Union welcomes the fact that Federal Chancellor Kohl has kept to his offer of a monetary union, said press spokesman Helmut Lueck. He said: "The most effective help of the Federal Republic for the GDR is obviously the implementation of monetary and economic union."

United Left: Joint social system stressed. Prime Minister Modrow has taken the roundtable's negotiation position seriously for the first time, says the United Left about the Modrow-Kohl negotiations in Bonn. The United Left welcomes the fact that a joint social system in the process of work at an economic community has been stressed.

Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany: Swift but cautious pursuit of unity. Party Chairman Guenther Maleuda said: "The news conference on initial results of Prime Minister Modrow's visit to Bonn has confirmed our expectation that the course of German unity is being pursued by the two German governments in a swift but cautious way."

Democratic Awakening: Early negotiations. Angela Merkel, press spokesperson for the Democratic Awakening group, told ADN in Berlin that Democratic Awakening advocates the early resumption of negotiations on monetary union between the FRG and the GDR.

Modrow Writes to LDPD About Free Enterprise

AU1902192490 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 15 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Further Laws To Follow"]

[Text] Berlin—In a letter to the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] chairman, Prime Minister Hans Modrow responded to critical statements about delays in economic reform. Referring to decisions that have, meanwhile, been made by the Council of Ministers on the freedom of trade, independent business relations with foreign partners, and new tax regulations for trade and industry, Modrow announces further steps:

"With a framework law on trade and industry that will be drafted by March 1990, the legal bases for comprehensive freedom of trade will be laid down. An amendment to the tax law will be drafted before the end of February 1990. In addition, the first draft law on private enterprise and on state enterprises with private and cooperative participation will also be submitted to the Council of Ministers before the end of February. Thereby, a legal basis will be created for transforming state-owned enterprises into enterprises with state participation, cooperative, or private enterprises."

Regarding further proposals, for instance, on deconcentrating combines and lifting the state monopoly on external trade, Modrow referred to the program on economic reform that has been submitted to the People's Chamber.

Krenz 'Indirectly' Admits Election Manipulation

LD1902165190 Hamburg DPA in German 1614 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Former GDR head of state Egon Krenz has indirectly admitted that since 1950 all electoral results in the GDR have been manipulated. In an article for BILD newspaper, (20 February edition), Krenz writes that electoral documents had been kept only up until the year 1950. "In the subsequent period a real rivalry developed among electoral districts for the best results. Everyone sought to achieve the 100-percent 'victory of socialism.'"

Krenz stresses that he shared the responsibility for this with the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] state party. "Politically speaking, I, the entire SED leadership, and ultimately the system bear full responsibility for the manipulation of the results of the lower level."

As chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Krenz was responsible for the GDR local elections of 6 May 1989. Following obvious electoral falsification, opposition forces in the GDR for the first time protested against the electoral manipulation and instigated legal proceedings.

The text of the corresponding passages from the Krenz article have been made available to DPA.

Council of Europe To Observe Elections

LD1602215990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1628 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—A 10-person Council of Europe delegation is to attend the People's Chamber elections in the GDR on 18 March as an observer. The chairman of the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly, Anders Bjoerck, announced this today at a news conference in Copenhagen. Bjoerck further stated that he will pay an official visit to the GDR on 21 February at the invitation of the president of the GDR People's Chamber, Dr. Guenther Maleuda. He also told ADN that, talks are planned with the acting chairman of the Council of State, Professor Manfred Gerlach; with Premier Dr. Hans Modrow; with Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; and also with representatives of opposition parties and movements. The main matter of concern is to give information about the principles of the Council of Europe and to speak about future cooperation.

At the news conference, Bjoerck also spoke about the GDR's application for guest status in the Council of Europe.

Tisch Released From Jail; Investigation Ends

LD2102193390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1141 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The investigations by the prosecutor-general's office against former Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] Chairman Harry Tisch and former Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Gerald Goetting have been completed, GDR prosecutor-general press spokesman Peter Przybilski announced at a news conference in Berlin today. He said that the list of charges against Harry Tisch will be handed to the city court today, and the charge against Gerald Goetting will be handed over before the end of the week. As the reasons for Harry Tisch's detention no longer exist and in view of the accused's state of health, it has been decided to release him from prison today. Gerald Goetting was released 19 February.

Harry Tisch is charged with abuse of his office of chairman of the FDGB on several occasions between 1983 and 1989 and of misuse of his authority. This resulted in economic damage of over M4.5 million. This sum relates to buildings for his personal use in the Eixen state hunting ground. A further charge concerns fraudulent conversion with regard to the transfer of M100 million from the FDGB's solidarity fund to the Free German Youth [FDJ] Central Council to finance the 1984 Youth Festival.

The charge against Gerald Goetting is to be handed over this week. The only point concerns the Ahrenshoop holiday home, which the former CDU chairman acquired for M23,000 in 1973 and which was subsequently altered and extended several times at a cost of M183,000 paid from the CDU's main fund. The prosecutor-general's spokesman quoted the accused as saying: "The mistake was that I did not recognize the difference between a private house and a house belonging to the CDU." Goetting had said in justification that the building had also been used for meetings and political talks.

Przybilski said in conclusion that about 30 other top officials are under investigation.

Kohl Remarks on German Neutrality Criticized

AU2102132890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 2

[Claus Duemde editorial: "Private Lesson"]

[Text] After his working meeting with FRG Chancellor Kohl, French President Mitterrand was asked on 15 February about his attitude toward the increasing desire of the majority of the Germans in the West and the East to live together in a neutral and demilitarized state. Before Mitterrand was able to answer, Kohl barked at the journalist from West Berlin, asking him on what facts he based this view. "I will not agree to a neutralized Germany, nor will the majority of the Germans," Kohl stressed.

He may be right as far as the first part of the sentence is concerned, but as far as "the majority of the Germans" is concerned, the chancellor apparently needs private lessons. The most recent opinion poll of the Wickert Institutes testifies to this.

Kohl's attitude toward the borders is also characteristic. Mitterrand stressed that guarantees are needed for the borders, and that Poland's western border in particular must be solemnly confirmed. Kohl rejected this once more in Paris. The "answer" will be given as soon as Germany has a joint parliament and a joint government. The warning expressed a few hours earlier by the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany that there will be no unity without the recognition of the borders was flung to the winds by the chancellor.

Kohl generally has the feeling that he is misunderstood by the people. The view is being spread in the FRG that the majority does not think he is a suitable chancellor, Kohl complained. Maybe he is right there.

U.S. Strategic Study 'Guided' by Arms Industry

AU2102130490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Feb 90 p 1

[Christa Schaffmann commentary: "How Long Will the Old Thinking Continue?"]

[Text] After the Ottawa conference, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher spoke of a new dimension of confidence building. The man with a sure sense of what is politically

feasible sees the chance of turning 1990 into the year of disarmament. Things in Vienna are proceeding well, and the prospects for the Soviet-U.S. START negotiations are also good. Moscow and Washington agree on reducing their troops in Central Europe to 195,000 men. A spring of disarmament seems to be imminent.

All this is not surprising for former Pentagon chief Schlesinger. In his view, a drastic reduction of U.S. troops in Europe is the logical consequence of the changed balance of power and the Warsaw Pact, which is no longer militarily relevant and which he can no longer see as a threat.

However, one hears that Washington sees this completely differently. According to a secret paper on strategy drawn up by Secretary of Defense Cheney, everything will remain as it is. On the contrary, the confrontation with the USSR—until 1997 for the time being—even necessitates the acceleration of the development of top modern weapons. In view of such concepts, if it were the time of mail coaches and mail boats one might have assumed that the news about the new situation and about the new thinking had not yet reached Washington. However, in our time one is forced to draw different conclusions. It is likely that the powerful arms industry guided Cheney's hand when he put this study on paper. It was never the answer to a threat from this direction, but only the threat itself.

Horn on Possibility of Joining NATO

LD2002221290 Budapest MTI in English 2140 GMT 20 Feb 90

["Can Hungary Join the NATO?—Horn"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—The principles laid down in Helsinki should be expanded and the recommendations gradually replaced by obligations. This may bring forth a new attitude and, in this framework, it cannot even be excluded that Hungary joins the NATO, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said at a debate organized in Budapest on Tuesday by the Hungarian Society of Political Sciences under the title "Will European History Start Again?" Papers were delivered by Gyula Horn, Geza Jeszenszky, dean of the Karl Marx University of Economics, and Miklos Szabo, staff member of the Institute for Historiography of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Mr Horn said the current political transformation of Europe had started with the first Soviet changes in 1985. The process gained fresh momentum last autumn when the Berlin wall was crumbled. The gap between East-Central Europe and Western Europe should no longer widen, and Europe should become united and democratic.

Mr Horn went on to say that Hungary was the first country in East-Central Europe to recognize the positive tendencies of the European renewal. Although there was a change in power, most East-Central European states have not yet started to change their system. Hungary made the greatest progress on this road, Mr Horn said.

A contributor to the debate said the current changes in Europe had a great winner, the unifying Germany, and a great loser, the Soviet Union. Another contributor stressed that a new security system ranging over the continent as a whole should be elaborated so as to guarantee the peaceful nature of transformation.

X X X

In reply to a question by an MTI correspondent on Hungary's eventual membership in the NATO, Mr Horn said he held it conceivable to establish a collective system of defence and security in Europe in the not too distant future. The road to this leads, among other things, through the establishment of closer ties between Hungary and the various NATO organizations, first of all the political ones.

Hungary has maintained relations with the North Atlantic Assembly since 1987, Mr Horn said. It might be a further stage of approach if Hungary joins the NATO's political organizations. It is conceivable in the not too distant future that both the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are being transformed through the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe. This is a gradual process; Hungary and the various NATO organizations can establish closer ties only step by step, so Hungary will not join the NATO tomorrow, Mr Horn said.

Clarifies Remarks

LD2102211190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] How does NATO evaluate the 21 February statement by the Hungarian foreign minister—that our homeland might sometime in the future be a member of the Atlantic Treaty's political organizations? In reply to a question from MTI's Brussels correspondent, a NATO spokesman said that it rests with the Hungarians themselves to make a decision about any kind of future military or political reorientation, through the appropriate parliamentary means.

Our reporter asked Gyula Horn to outline in more detail his ideas, which were voiced on 21 February at a scientific conference.

[Begin Horn recording] I received phone calls this morning, too, and comments. There has been a certain misunderstanding. This statement was voiced in front of an audience of 500, (?together with) representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats.

I emphasized, and emphasized again, the following: We are not running anywhere. Hungarian foreign policy has not been doing this up to now either, but it has always tried to analyze what had to be done on the basis of the new life, the real situation.

There is a new situation in Europe. The essence of this is that here in Central-Eastern Europe the democratic transformation is under way, and this is resulting in a completely new situation from the point of view of East-West relations. In connection with this, the question cropped up: What is to be the fate of the military and political blocs? Within the Warsaw Pact, a very significant—I have to say as a result of Hungarian and Soviet collaboration—restructuring has taken place, primarily in the direction that the Warsaw Pact should not deal with the internal affairs of the member states, should not decide but should primarily consult and coordinate, and every significant decision must be (?entrusted) to the national parliaments of the member states. In my opinion, this is the direction, this is the structure that must be further strengthened. One more thing, which we formulated on 21 February, too, is that in connection with the armies, the emphasis must be placed increasingly on national armies.

What is to become of the relations betwen the two alliance blocs? According to our evaluation, the future democratic Europe can hardly renounce a defensive, collective security system. This is the direction in which movement must be made—this is the direction in which we have to take steps—for there are still very many dangers that can threaten the new democratic Europe. The development of this can be a process, and progress

must be made step by step. What am I thinking of in concrete terms? Primarily, that a consultative system between the two alliance systems must be created. A consultative contact that does have precedents—let me refer here to the Ottawa meeting of 23 foreign ministers. Or, that certain member states—and here I am primarily talking about Hungary—we have had contacts already since 1987 with, for example, the North Atlantic General Assembly. This is precisely why these contacts must be made stronger. I lay stress on the political contacts, which can mean that Hungary, or any other Warsaw Pact member state, could in the future be a member of certain political, consultative organizations of NATO, such as, for example, the North Atlantic General Assembly, while retaining its Warsaw Pact membership. However, this process could also lead ultimately to a collective, defensive security system being created on a pan- European basis.

This is what we tried to formulate on 21 February, at the gathering at the Political Science Society, for in our evaluation we must always deal with the new demands deriving from the new situation. [end recording]

Somogyi Discusses Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2102001190 Budapest MTI in English
2235 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, Hungarian state secretary of foreign affairs, delivered a paper on the chances of the withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary, and other foreign policy issues at a forum organized by the Kiskunhalas Organization of the Patriotic People's Front on Tuesday. (It was from Kiskunhalas that the first Soviet troops were withdrawn in 1989.)

In an interview given to MTI and MAGYAR HIRLAP, the state secretary said the technical conditions of the troops withdrawal and the text of the final agreement were discussed in two work groups. Following a plenary session on February 1, the sides started to discuss the economic and financial details, for instance the ways of compensation by the Southern Army Group for the damage caused to the barracks and the costs of unexecuted maintenance works. Mr Somogyi held it necessary exactly to define the value of the facilities built by the Soviet troops, and that of the stocks, a part of which the Soviets would leave in Hungary. Only a small proportion of these stocks would be arms since the Hungarian Army meets these demand from other sources.

Due to progress in both negotiating groups, the sides are expected to hold a plenary session and eventually agree on all important issues on February 28. Should they fail to come to an agreement, the experts will continue their work and sign the agreement on the final timetable of troops withdrawal in the first half of March.

Concerning the Moscow TV's interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aboimov, Mr Somogyi said: Although Aboimov mentioned the interests of the Soviet officers who had no flat of their own and would confront with other disadvantages, his statement clearly reflected that the Soviet leadership held the Hungarian claim for the withdrawal of troops as justified. Solving the officers' problems should not entail needless delays in withdrawal.

The statements carried by some Soviet papers, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, yet before the talks on the allegedly hasty Hungarian decisions should not be regarded as an official standpoint, Mr Somogyi said. The Soviet negotiating partners agree with the Hungarian position that the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary is the consequence of an old, outdated security policy and military doctrine—and is therefore needless.

HSFS Urges USSR Relations Based on Trust

LD1602221790 Budapest MTI in English
1715 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—The Executive Presidium of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society (HSFS) welcomes the intergovernmental talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

The time is near, they stressed at the Friday [16 February] session of the body, when a prejudice will be done away with and the relations of the two countries will no longer be marred by the presence of foreign soldiers, opening the way to genuinely frank, friendly and good-neighbourly relations.

The Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society has called on Hungarian citizens not to allow extreme manifestations disturb the long-awaited realization of the troops' withdrawal. In a manner worthy of the best Hungarian traditions, each and every citizen should contribute to setting up relations between the two neighbouring countries in the last decade of the century which are based on mutual interest and trust, as well as equality of rights in all respects.

The body's Friday session chaired by F Bruno Straub set up a memorial committee comprising public personalities and former prisoners of war with the mission of establishing a monument in the Soviet Union in memory of the Hungarian victims of World War II.

New Ambassador in Moscow on Bilateral Relations

AU1802185190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 15 Feb 90 p 7

[Report on interview with Sandor Gyorke, newly appointed Hungarian ambassador in Moscow, by Laszlo L. Lengyel; place and date not given: "New Hungarian Main Consulate in the Carpathian Ukraine"]

[Excerpts] After a break of almost one year, our new ambassador in Moscow has recently taken up his post. Sandor Gyorke, who previously represented Hungary in Belgrade, spent only a short time in the Soviet Union

before coming home for consultations. Our correspondent interviewed him on this occasion.

[Lengyel] Upon your arrival in Moscow, you met with several high-ranking Soviet leaders. What is the view of the Soviet leaders about the changes under way in Hungary and the prospects for our bilateral relations?

[Gyorke] My initial impressions are favorable. It clearly transpired from our talks that the Soviet side also showed great readiness for reorganizing Hungarian-Soviet relations in the spirit of the changes in East Europe, the restructuring process, and the Hungarian reform processes. This refers both to the principles and the entire system of our bilateral relations. Concerning our political relations, the Soviet side also agreed that the new political forces emerging in both countries should contribute to restructuring our relations. As a first step, this requires contacts with the aforementioned forces. While I was there, delegations of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party visited Moscow. Both sides evaluated the talks as quite useful.

As for our economic relations, both sides agree that we must adjust these relations to the requirements of our age. We consider our bilateral cooperation to be vital. Both the Soviet Union and Hungary stress the economic interests, rather than the previously voiced principle of "internationalism" in our relations. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] How could the recently introduced Hungarian export limitations affect our economic relations?

[Gyorke] I think that this export ban is an extraordinary and temporary measure. I do not think this ban can be maintained on a long-term basis. It is impossible to regulate the volume of our bilateral economic cooperation by temporary and manual [kezivezerlesu] means. Such measures might be necessary at the moment, but we cannot continue this over a long term. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] What is the role of national minority contacts in our bilateral relations?

[Gyorke] The Soviet Union has recently been dealing with the national minority issue in a totally different way from the past. They are advancing on the road of determining the norms and conditions of the alliance in a new way and of providing greater independence to individual republics, nations, and national minorities. This will naturally affect the relations of individual national minorities with the mother nation. The first steps toward contacts with the Hungarian population in Soviet Subcarpathia have already been made in recent months. Naturally, we will need a more organized, careful, and systematic advance in this area. In my view, the establishing of a Hungarian main consulate in the Carpathian Ukraine will be a major step in this direction, and hopefully we will agree on this in the coming months. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] To what extent do our domestic policy changes and the development of a multiparty system affect the activity and organization of our embassy in Moscow?

[Gyorke] It is an important part of our adjustment to the new situation that, in recent months, I have conducted broad consultations with heads of many political organizations and parties in Hungary. I can state that during our talks, the representatives of these parties gave a realistic and responsible evaluation of the importance and role of Hungarian-Soviet relations. They are striving for good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. They are aware of the political, economic, and other effects on our position as a neighbor of a world power. [passage omitted]

Editorial Assesses CPSU Plenum, Changes

AU1802150390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Feb 90 p 5

[Pal Bokor editorial: "Spring"]

[Text] A period has again come to an end in the history of the Soviet Union and perhaps also in the history of the world. We will remember the first as the era of restructuring and the second as the era of monopolistic socialism of the bureaucratic party state.

The spontaneous demands that emerged deep from the strata of the 500,000 people demonstrating in Moscow's Revolution Square formulated the need for radical changes. Confronting these demands with the regime-apologetic slogans like restructuring and glasnost, the demonstrators seemed to signal the direction of events in advance. Last week, the people in Moscow demanded freedom of the press instead of openness, and political freedom instead of the repeated refreshing of leading bodies. In the five years of the Gorbachev era, restructuring has proved to be nothing more than an unsuccessful attempt to reorganize the party state's power apparatus of monopolistic socialism—and we are talking here about 18 million bureaucrats.

In recent weeks, acquaintances arriving from Moscow described Gorbachev as the showcase man of the apparatus, a well-speaking but almost helpless puppet figure. In Hungary, on the anniversary of the Yalta Conference, speaking on the television program "Napzarta" ["End of the Day"], our political experts assured us that the time of world policy structures guided by the big powers was over and that the small nations could now control their destiny.

The judgment on Gorbachev seemed to be premature in any case, and we could also consider the release from big-power dictates to be more or less final only if a new balanced situation replaced the Yalta arrangement. Nor would I take it for granted that the Soviet Union, victorious in World War II, will voluntarily and painlessly accept the fact that the only fruit of its victory—its increased political influence—is consumed like a stunted small apple of which big bites are taken in Berlin or in

Baku. However, from this point of view, there are two interpretations of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech delivered on 5 February. One, that "Gorbi"—whose personal political ability has been questioned neither by time nor by meager results—has decided that the apparatus is too big, too strong, and too disinterested to allow a reform of the Stalinist system in a peaceful way, and therefore it must be eliminated even with the risk of giving up the entire political system. However, there is also another interpretation, namely that if the Soviet Union wants to preserve its strategic role in the world, it must by all means look for a new economic system and a new governmental form.

Obviously, both interpretations have played a role in the changes that have taken place in Moscow. In this respect, the antecedents provide quite proper information. It is possible that the CNN "rumor" on Gorbachev's imminent resignation was a hoax. However, CNN owner Ted Turner has quite close Soviet contacts, thus it is possible that this was only a false rumor, but not a groundless rumor. Economic figures and the attempts of republics in the Baltic and Caucasus to break away clearly signaled to Gorbachev that the course of restructuring can no longer be continued.

The prospects of a German reunification have a similar effect on urging the Soviet leadership to act. Naturally, this would upset the balance of postwar Europe if all the other Eastern European "domino pieces" were still standing. But we know that none of these pieces is standing. Thus, when it resolved to make this difficult decision, Moscow could only rely on two forces: the sweeping power of the people's rage against the bloodsucker Soviet oligarchy, and the goodwill of the former allies in World War II, a goodwill also originating from strategic considerations.

Unmistakable gestures have taken place. Could one misunderstand events like the U.S. President's telephone call to Moscow in the hours following the announcement of Gorbachev's possible resignation? Could the fact that, parallel with the beginning of the troop withdrawal negotiation with the "socialist camp," Washington is proposing the withdrawal of 195,000 troops from Europe, be interpreted as anything else but a moral support given to the Soviet Union? What is all this if not a gesture by a former ally to a friendly big power in order to preserve its identity?

From a Hungarian viewpoint, the essence of the changes in Moscow can also be formulated as follows: More than 40 years after the big war, possibilities have arisen to develop a new world order in which independent, democratic, and modern national states could also exist in the Eastern European segment of the world. In his "Antipolitics," Gyorgy Konrad argues that all this can be only imagined in a strong and united Europe that can defend itself from every point. However, similarly strong arguments are in favor of the need to also have a strong and united Soviet Union in this Europe.

Nobody knows where the avalanche started by Mikhail Gorbachev will stop, an avalanche he started by recognizing the possibility of a multiparty system. However, restructuring is definitely over. Real restructuring can now begin. What if this does not take place? I try not to think of such a possibility on such a beautiful spring day.

Deputies Demand University in CSSR

AU1802175790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Feb 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Zoltan Sido, ethnic Hungarian deputy in the Slovak Parliament, by Tibor Kis in Prague; date not given: "Hungarian University or College in Slovakia?"]

[Excerpts] Last week, three Hungarian deputies in the Slovak Parliament—Zoltan Sido, Miklos Duray, and Gyula Popely—submitted a proposal on setting up a Hungarian-language university in the town of Komarom in south Slovakia. The institution would be named after Mor Jokai [Hungarian writer]. Our correspondent asked Zoltan Sido about details of the plan.

[Kis] On what basis do you justify it as necessary to set up a Hungarian university in Slovakia?

[Sido] There are about 20,000 people with higher education among the Hungarians in Slovakia. This is a very small number. The following statistics will show how small this percentage really is: The percentage of university graduates among the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is 1.6 percent, while the percentage of university graduates in Slovakia as a whole is 3.8 percent. This shortage cannot be overcome in the long run under the current educational structure. We need primarily national minority teachers, at least 150-200 new teachers yearly until the year 2000. In our view, a Hungarian university could be the solution.

[Kis] What are the conditions for the establishment of such a university in Komarom?

[Sido] In our concept, there would be two faculties in this university: a teacher's training and a social science faculty. The latter would train ethnographers, educators, Presbyterian priests, and journalists. The university would receive the new and modern building of the county Communist Party of Czechoslovakia committee; some 450-500 students could study here under proper conditions. Komarom would also be an ideal university town because many Hungarian institutions are already functioning here, like the Hungarian District Theater and the Danube Area Museum that, according to our plans, would change into a national minority museum. There are several Hungarian-language elementary and secondary schools in the town, and this is a great advantage for teacher-training purposes. [passage omitted]

[Kis] What is the opinion of the Parliament about the draft proposal?

[Sido] We counted on full support from the recently elected Hungarian deputies, all the more so because, in our view, this proposal was in harmony with the letter and spirit of the joint national minority declaration of the Public Against Violence and the Independent Hungarian Initiative. However, this support failed to materialize because only two of my fellow deputies, Miklos Duray and Gyula Popely, participated in submitting the proposal. [passage omitted]

[Kis] Why do the other Hungarian deputies not support this proposal?

[Sido] It seems they fear national minority confrontation in this matter. [passage omitted]

Ethnic Minority Demands in Romania Analyzed

AU2102135090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 90 p 3

[Peter Vajda editorial: "They Have the Right"]

[Text] The following formula is not ours; press agencies report that the word has been sent to Bucharest from Paris, Washington, and Bonn: The road back to Europe leads through Budapest....

Why? When the full chronicle of the Ceausescu regime's years of despotism is complete, a separate chapter will certainly deal with the ordeals of the national minorities. The Romanian people were also subjugated under the Conducator. The Hungarians in Transylvania and the Hungarians in Moldavia were living under double oppression. The Hungarians had to abandon their language and culture, and were forced to sever their contacts with the mother nation. It is hardly coincidental that precisely the authorities' brutality against Laszlo Tokes was the spark in Temesvar [Timisoara] that then ignited the explosion at Christmas.

We in Budapest are not alone in drawing these conclusions; the entire world thinks the same. The whole world knows, and makes it known, that stability in Europe requires normal relations between Romania and Hungary based on cooperation. This is considered to be a signal in Europe. However, such relations are possible only if the Hungarians in Romania enjoy full equal rights. An elementary democratic norm indivisible from the aforementioned rights is that the illegal injustice of eliminating the Hungarian schools in Romania should be redressed. A nation lives through its language, so the Hungarian young people in Transylvania should have the right to the same thing that, for example, the French people in Quebec regard as natural. The past will never return, and, whatever the elections in Budapest might bring and whatever happens after the elections, there will never again be a government in Hungary that will separate the fate of Hungarians in Transylvania when dealing with the Hungarian-Romanian relations.

We must stress this because the world press, as well as our press, have just published Romanian Premier Petre Roman's interview for AFP in Paris. According to AFP, Petre Roman said the following: "We will not give in to nationalist pressure, either Romanian or Hungarian. We did not give in on the issue of separate Romanian and Hungarian schools either. Now that everyone has the opportunity to present unlimited positions, it would not be a good choice to try to force the reorganization of education on the basis of languages. Things should work themselves out by themselves, in accordance with the students' wishes, and not by the giving of orders from above."

This interview has aroused strange feelings in us. We can only welcome the fact that the premier of the new Romania has taken a stand against nationalism on both sides. However, if we read the next sentence, is he not making concessions to the forces of Romanian nationalism—a nationalism originating before Ceausescu and also surviving him—by taking a stand against the Hungarian schools in Romania? To us, unfortunately, it seems that he is making concessions to these forces, and it is not difficult to foresee that this could encourage those who seek to hinder the Hungarian-language education in Transylvania and who, consequently, would also put obstacles on the road taking Romania toward Europe. There might be seemingly rational domestic policy reasons for such concessions, and there might also be tactical considerations behind this, but this does not make such a policy acceptable to the Hungarians in Transylvania, and to us either. The premier was probably aware of this when he corrected his position and said that he was only opposed to the forceful reorganization of education. However, his statements on "mixed universities" are unfortunately opposed to the justice of the appeal published under the headline: "Patience for Another 30 Years." The authors of this appeal are justified in their claims, and precisely our respect for the courageous and experienced leaders of the Romanian revolution and our high appreciation for Petre Roman has led us to declare this clearly (without any "if's," "but's," "however's," or "only's").

Opposition Parties Against Lakatos as Envoy

LD1902114190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 19 Feb 90

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Why is the Hungarian ambassador to Berlin being relieved of his post? MAGYAR HIRLAP asked Foreign Affairs State secretary Laszlo Kovacs. As it turns out, one reason is the fact that the opposition parties object to Erno Lakatos, former head of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Agitprop Department.

World Bank Vice President Makes Official Visit

LD1602112290 Budapest MTI in English 1928 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Willi Wapenhans, vice president of the World Bank, has paid a four-day official visit to Hungary.

During his talks with several members of the government and the national Bank of Hungary, the World Bank leader surveyed results of cooperation and the prospects of future links with the World Bank.

The guest was recieved by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. Mr Wapenhans also met with the leaders of several parties.

Mr Wapenhans left Budapest on Thursday [15 Februaru].

Membership in World Peace Council Suspended

LD1702232290 Budapest MTI in English 1954 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, Feb 17 (MTI)—The Hungarian Peace Council decided at its board meeting in Budapest on Saturday to suspend its membership of the World Peace Council [WPC] which in its view continues to represent the pre-Gorbachevian period.

There were calls for an immediate withdrawal on the ground that Hungary's repeated initiative has lost ground to the movements of countries pursuing a militant anti-imperialist policy, while others warned for caution.

The board members finally decided—with two abstentions—to suspend the WPC membership of the Hungarian Peace Council, and to authorize the presidium to take further measures.

International Chamber of Commerce Admits Nation

LD1902195390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Our country is the first of the East European countries to be admitted among the members of the International Chamber of Commerce. This information was given by the general secretary of the world organization to the deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Economic Chamber. The chamber's leader told ESTI HIRLAP that the international organization will soon be sending seven experts to Hungary to give advice on selling state property into private hands, on the realization of foreign investments and manager training as well. The International Chamber of Commerce recently rejected the Soviet Union's, Bulgaria's, and Romania's requests for admission.

Independent Smallholders Party Campaign Address

LD2102210490

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0620 GMT on 21 February carries a 12-minute election campaign broadcast by the Independent Smallholders, Landworkers, and Bourgeois Party (ISLBP).

Two unidentified speakers take turns speaking. They note that some parties are supported by the West, some look to Europe for help, some pin their hopes on the USSR. The ISLBP is supported by Hungarians. Some parties have millions of forints for the elections. The ISLBP has millions of supporters. It would like the village to get rich, the fruits of labor to belong to the workers, the only ones who deserve them.

The ISLBP hopes that the country will not split in two after the elections. A symbiotic relationship exists between the town and country dwellers. There can be no opposition between them. The ISLBP wants national unity. Only by joining forces can the destructive spectre of communism that has swept Europe be exorcised. During four decades, they destroyed our national identity and our culture and held sway over our churches. But they did not break our backbone or our faith. They have sold off the country's treasures and put the interests of a foreign power above the nation's interest. But they could not sell off the homeland or its people. They ruined our environment, wrecked the communities, and muddled human relationships. They chased many abroad and many to their deaths. But they could not take away our self-respect, or our love of the family.

The economic and moral ruins have to be cleared away. These are the party's basic demands for the construction of a new Hungary:

"We demand the soonest possible withdrawal of foreign troops from Hungary's territory. We demand the reexamination of all international agreements unfavorable to Hungary, and if need be their abrogation. [We demand] Hungary's joining the EC, Hungary's participation in the European Parliament, the starting of immediate talks on Hungary's admission into the EEC, and the representation of the interests of the world's Magyardom.

"We demand the free exercise of civil rights, the elimination of bureaucracy and corruption; that the treasonable and nation-wrecking deeds of Janos Kadar and his circle be made public and condemned, that those who ruined the country be called to account and in some cases called to account before the law.

"We demand a new democratic constitution; the use of the small coat of arms with the crown; the worthy commemoration of our revolutions and freedom struggles; the liberal economic policy; monetary reform; the total independence of the churches from the state; that cultural and health affairs be placed on new foundations;

social welfare; the secure livelihood of pensioners; a social safety net; and prosperity, happiness, and security."

In conclusion they say: We must now vote for a democratic Hungary, for a calme Danube Basin, for a peaceful world.

Election Coalition Wants More Publicity

LD2102154590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] The Patriotic Election Coalition is painstakingly careful to see that its style should differ from that of other parties. In other words, it does not make demands, it does not take people on the streets to demonstrate, and it does not react to provocations. That is how Laszlo Asztalos, the coalition's chairman, began his press briefing this morning, and he went on to say that it is thanks to this policy that so far they have collected nearly 125,000 sounding-out cards. This is because those people who have had enough of party battles or who are afraid of the election campaign were happy to give their vote to the coalition. At present, therefore, they have 125 candidates and they want to put Kalman Kulcsar first on the national list. The coalition feels that they are in sixth place on the list of parties, based on the number of candidates. Precisely for this reason, they are expecting today to be given a role appropriate to their strength on television and on radio. Laszlo Asztalos, in fact, observed that since the coalition was founded they have not figured in a single (?opinion) program on television, for instance. Why this is so is something they would like to clarify at the time of the elections. He indicated that they will no longer put up with silently looking on. Beginning 23 February, they will write down which party gets publicity more than once. They cannot tolerate it that parties should come to the forefront that are well behind them in the number of candidates.

Democratic Youth League Declares Stand

LD2102154790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Summary] The Democratic Youth League, which at its inception was oriented to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, or rather the Hungarian Socialist Party, held a news conference today where its representatives emphasized that this is no longer the case. We must not commit ourselves to parties, they said. Today's political spectrum is still too broad for us to be able to belong to any one of them

Justice Party Presents Program for Gypsies

LD2102111290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0520 GMT on 20 February carries a four-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the New Hungarians' Justice Party, in which Chairman Albert Horvath presents his party's program. He says that his party believes that the life of Gypsies must be improved in the interests of all, for the sake of establishing a fair society in which human rights for all are guaranteed.

Horvath argues: It must be realized that there are honest, hardworking groups among the Gypsies who are useful members of society. It is very sad that there are still some among the Gypsies who do not wish to fit into society. Our party wishes to create the opportunities for fitting into society. We want to live and work together with people who are not Gypsies. He adds: Our program aims to provide opportunities for honest work for all with fair pay. People in rural areas must be given land, and enterprise must be supported. The party stresses that the level of general education must be improved.

Horvath concludes: We wish for peace, happiness, and mutual understanding among all honest men of goodwill in the world. Citing an old proverb, he says that where love, peace, blessings, and God are present nothing more is needed.

An organizing secretary of the party appeals to electors, Gypsies, and non-Gypsies to support the party in the interest of a fairer society for all.

Gypsy music is played at the beginning and end of the broadcast.

MSZP Gives Account of Assets on Hand

LD2102104490 Budapest MTI in English 1635 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has given over more than 90 per cent of the real estates in its hand, and renounced its right to manage 2,230 real estates so far. At present, the HSP disposes of 6-6.5 per cent of the original real estate property of its predecessor, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), HSP spokesman Viktor Polgar told a news conference in Budapest on Tuesday [20 February].

Polgar said the HSP would give over its educational organization, network of resort homes and all real estates which are not necessary for operating a political party. This also goes for movables, such as valuable paintings. The party's national board has offered to the government the former Central Committee Headquarters as well. Following the March elections, the party expects to hand over further real estates, including the former party centre of District 3.

The cost of maintaining the buildings retained by the HSP exceeded 400 million forints. In connection with the account of assets, the spokesman said that although some call for the origin of property to be investigated, they do not say "how far the survey should go back in time". He complained about calls for giving an account at market value, which would be unprecedented with organizations, institutions or companies. The HSP is also ready to publish an account of the party companies,

such as the publishers of county papers which are to be rendered independent from the HSP and all other parties, Viktor Polgar said.

People's Party Views Election Prospects

LD2102094990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian People's Party [MNP] held a news conference today. Peter Szoerenyi reports.

[Begin Szoernenyi recording] The MNP is capable of fielding twice as many candidates at the elections as is needed for the national list. This was declared at the party's news conference today. In some cases, however, they will stand on a joint list with the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party, and the Entrepreneurs' Party. All this means that the party will have about 60 candidates in the elections.

It was also declared at the briefing that the MNP's Gypsy section has been formed. The aim of this is to advance the incorporation of Gypies into local societies. Apart from this, they also said that they are creating a so-called advisory body, alongside the party presidium. The task of this, according to its prospective chairman, Ferenc Santa, is to help the existing party leadership's work in the preparation of the various decisions. The body will not belong to the organization, although its members' sympathies lie with the MNP. Among its members are composer Sandor Szokolay, archaeologist Gyula Laszlo, and economist Tibor Liska. [end recording]

Election Supervisory Committee Set Up

AU2102124890 Budapest MTI in English 2007 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, 19 Feb (MTI)—In its Monday session, the Inter-party Coordinating Committee initiated to set up a committee to supervise the election campaign in the last weeks of the run-up to the parliamentary elections. (The first round will be held on March 25, and the second one on April 8.) The committee will be formed on February 27 by the parties entitled to set up a national list. The parties setting up regional lists may take part in the committee with consultative rights. The committee will supervise the election programmes of the radio and television, and the 'placard war', and examine the eventual ethical abuses occuring in the election rallies.

The parties agreed that, from February 28 on, the TV and the radio would broadcast in five times two minutes the election appeals of the parties, and the order of parties would be determined by lot.

According to recommendations, the TV Newsreel should cover the election rallies in proportion to the number of the parties' candidates. From March 8 on, the Hungarian Television will broadcast 60-minute debates, in each case with four parties having a national list expounding their positions. The debate of the party presidents will most probably last longer.

On February 23 and March 23, the Hungarian Television will broadcast two-hour summaries on the run-up to the elections. The elections will be covered live on both March 25 and April 8.

The parties have obliged themselves to suspend the campaign on March 15, the national day of the country.

Alliance Calls for Rules for Power Transfer

LD2002095790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats calls on parties presenting national lists at the election to begin discussions as soon as possible on rules to regulate the process of handing over power. The executive body of the organization believes that the national parties must debate the technical and legal questions of the changeover of the system, that is, they have to determine the tasks for the first session of the new parliament.

Social Democratic Party Campaign Broadcast

LD1902143490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0620 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0620 GMT on 19 February carries an election campaign broadcast on behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

The unidentified speaker identifies himself as a 31-year-old scientific researcher, the father of a beautiful son. He begs listeners not to switch off but to listen to this party, which is different from all the others. Unlike them, it can really solve the country's problems, not just talk about them. The successes of the West European social democratic parties provide a guarantee for this. He says: We want democracy, freedom for citizens and entrepreneurs, security and order in the streets, workplaces, in management and enterprise; we want to create prosperity for our people as our sister parties have done throughout the West; we want justice; we oppose privilege; we want to live in a predictable world where the state authorities cannot alter the social contract from one moment to the next, where things like interest tax cannot occur. Interest tax is unjust and illegal. For this reason, the Social Democrats have initiated a movement of civil disobedience in connection with the payment of this tax until the constitutional court has ruled in this matter.

He concludes: the Social Democrats offer the country the only chance of catching up with Europe.

Leader Criticizes Security

LD1902093590 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 18 (MTI)—"The Social Democratic Party of Hungary considers the public security conditions in the country impermissible," party president Anna Petrasovits told an election rally in Nyiregyhaza on Sunday.

Petrasovits said that as the present situation was a barrier to peaceful transition and stability, the Social Democrats hold it important to strengthen the Ministry of the Interior, including qualitative improvement of the police force and a considerable increase of technical facilities.

Petrasovits announced evidence was accumulating that certain parties and organizations were using illegal methods during the electoral preparations. She said the party centre would collect and make public such evidence. At the same time, they would propose inviting more foreign observers to the elections.

Anna Petrasovits said in conclusion that the next board meeting would discuss the case of former SDPH leaders who were at the time party to the merger with the communist party. She stressed they would propose the board should ban these people from the SDPH for good.

Election Rally Held

LD1702222590 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) wishes to lead the country in the direction of western-style democracy out of the conviction that without it, there can be no social democracy either, SDPH President Anna Petrasovits told an election rally in Budapest on Saturday.

Petrasovits said the Social Democrats attached great importance to the beginning of the accumulation of national capital, the emergence of a national entrepreneurial stratum and the start of the embourgisement [as received] of workers and peasants. They hold it necessary to set up a mixed economy, the propelling force of which would be private property and which will be capable of ensuring western-style welfare to millions of workers.

Anna Petrasovits pointed out: The Social Democratic Party of Hungary accepts as a partner all organizations which have set the aim of bringing about western-style democracy. Standing closest to them are the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD), she said.

With regard to the relationship between the SDPH and the trade unions, Petrasovits stated her party was not making a sharp distinction between the Hungarian trade unions by the date of their formation, but what matters most is their independence from the economic oligarchy.

The foreign policy concepts of the social democrats are characterized by restraint. They do not say "Russians go home right now", and they would not like to upset the European status quo. Naturally, they are calling for the Soviet troops to be withdrawn from Hungary, and have set the aim for Hungary to become an independent, neutral country free from Soviet troops by the millenium, Anna Petrasovits said.

Alliances Ruled Out

LD1702213290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The Social Democratic Party of Hungary does not wish to enter an alliance with either the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] or the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP]. It rejects this both before and after the elections. It considers its closest allies, its long-term strategic partners, to be the Alliance of Free Democratic and the Federation of Young Democrats. According to the Social Democratic Party, it is not reforms that are needed, but a fundamental and comprehensive system change; a working class and peasantry that is rising into the middle class instead of the present middle class sinking into proletarianism. Social Democratic Party Chairwoman Anna Petrasovits spoke, among other things, about this in the morning. We consider radical ownership reform to be the most pressing task, she added.

We are believers in a socialism with the principle of freedom, based on social solidarity, which has been developed in Sweden, Finland, and Austria. According to our conviction, the development of these countries can serve as a model for the future democratic Hungary. We will do everything in our power so that the country should become neutral and independent before the turn of the century.

Democratic Forum Chairman on Coalition Prospects

LD1902105890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] During the past week it has been stated several times that the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] supposedly foresees that for the appointment to more important technical posts it will insist on the acceptance of its own ideology. That is, of course, if the party comes into government. First it was heard in an "Evening News" statement, implying changes of personnel as well, and then on 17 February at the meeting discussing the future of technocrats, our reporter who was present there reported something similar. The MDF again and again contested this. The latest denial came from the party chairman, as it will become apparent from the following news, which arrived this afternoon.

According to [MDF Chairman] Jozsef Antall, the statement in the radio report from the meeting of the engineers and technician's forum, according to which for the

filling of more important technical posts after the election it will be essential to accept the ideology of the MDF, is not true. The chairman emphasized that such anticonstitutional and illegal demands are alien to his party:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] It is my opinion that it is possible to misinterpret certain sentences in a report, but here something more is involved. A fundamental question from the point of view of the future of Hungarian public life, since it is by no means irrelevant whether suitability will be decided on the basis of professional competence in any particular field, especially in the case of leading professional posts, or, once again, on the basis of political commitment. Therefore I have asked Jozsef Antall to clarify this question.

[Antall] The MDF has always been fighting to ensure that party interests do not prevail at workplaces. Our first demand was the withdrawal of political parties from the workplace. Therefore, the idea that party interests should prevail anywhere cannot occur. The other question is that it is against common sense that either in a private enterprise or in any other form of undertaking, simply the demands or programs of parties will decide the rules.

[Interviewer] Must we therefore conclude that it is the definite view of the MDF that leading positions where the question of politics arise are, in practice in the case of coming into government, only ministerial posts?

[Antall] Exclusively, this can only apply to ministers or political state secretaries, in the case of the MDF forming the government. In this case, it is also obvious that in a ministry directed by a MDF politician, government policy corresponding to the spirit and program of the MDF will prevail if an item of the party program is raised to the level of a government program. The situation is again different if a coalition government is formed. Then obviously there will be a coordinated coalition program. Thus any such interpretation that is trying to represent and interpret this as though the MDF is wishing to give some form of party direction to specialists is not only simple misinterpretation, but even to suppose this, we can safely say, is actually insulting to the MDF.

[Interviewer] I think it is far from the majority of the Hungarian press that is trying to insult the MDF in any respect, but it is surprising that not only in relation to the technocrats, but, for example, in connection with the direction of the press, we heard some views from certain leaders of the MDF that there will definitely be a need for certain personnel changes if the MDF comes into power.

[Antall] It is also obvious that the question is not the MDF coming to power—and not only the MDF but also any other party since in Hungary there is going to be an election. And after the election, a new political period will begin that will include the shaping of a new political and economic structure. Obviously, personality changes will be needed; that is a reorganization.

[Interviewer] But can you definitely state that in these changes of personnel at the lower levels and at the specialist levels, either in the press, or technical, or any other field, it is not the political commitment that will be decisive?

[Antall] Obviously, first of all there are professional considerations, moral and human suitability, leadership potential, in the case of people in leading positions, etc. That is, the same considerations that everywhere in the world characterize a political democracy. [end recording]

SZDSZ Official Discusses Possible Coalitions

LD1702000190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The SzDSz [Alliance of Free Democrats] from the beginning did not make a secret of their wish to change the system. Their economic policy ideas are in accordance with this intention. [passage omitted] Some of these may have to be sacrificed during the formation of a coalition. During today's international news conference, it transpired that the SzDSz, during the competition of party programs, changed the emphasis on some issues and offers them in such form to the electorate. Tibor (Hollauer) reports.

[Begin Hollauer recording] We want to win the elections and would like to govern with our natural allies, said Janos Kis, executive official for the SzDSz at the news conference. Among the allies, he mentioned FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], whose economic program, in his view, is in practice the same as that of the SzDSz, and the smallholders parties [Independent Smallholders' Party and National Smallholders' Party]. Janos Kis, however, said that the SzDSz does not wish to restore the pre-1947 land ownership relations. We would not like it, said Janos Kis, if after the election our voters chased us out of the villages with a pitchfork. Only for the sake of preserving the stability of the country would the SzDSz undertake to take part in a coalition, if the results of the election warranted, with the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum].

There are two main reasons for this, according to Janos Kis. The first is that the leadership of the MDF does not act in a predictable manner. He quoted, for example, the statement of Denes Csengey on the necessity to introduce a price freeze that was immediately and forcefully rejected by one of the economic experts of the MDF in the columns of one of the daily papers. The SzDSz also regards the price freeze as an absurd and pointless step. The second is that, according to Janos Kis, the MDF does not wish for a majority share of private ownership in the economy, which the SzDSz regards as indispensable, among other reasons, for the curbing of the No. 1 public enemy—inflation.

To the question of which portfolio the SzDSz would like to have most of all, the answer was, the defense one, because then we would immediately dispense of a permanent army. [end recording]

Parties Take Positions in Election Campaign

LD1602234190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Now let us glance at the day's campaign events. The following news shows that the electioneering campaign is going at full blast.

The MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] is dissociating itself from those parties that are hopeing for the economic progress of the country from a sudden influx of large capital or from the restoration of the 1947 landownership position. MDF Deputy Chairman Ferenc Kulin, at an election meeting in Nagykanizsa, again emphasized that the MDF is not going to enter into coalition with any successor of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

Rezso Nyers finds it important, in the interest of peaceful transition, to defend public administration and public order, and in his view, there is a common responsibility for this for the political forces. The chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], at a meeting of activists of the Trade Union of Printing Workers, said the right action of the government is to put a brake on further price increases of basic foodstuffs and, at the same time, also to prevent automatic wage increases. Rezso Nyers predicted the results of the election as 10-25 percent for the socialists.

According to Imre Pozsgay, the reason for the hesitation and concern being experienced at present is that some of the parties are not yet ripe for responsible politics. The minister of state, as MSZP candidate for Sopron, gave his opinion at an election meeting that the main aim in the economy is control of inflation, but at the same time questions of land and property ownership, opportunities for enterprises, and the question of wages must also be settled.

Representatives of the county of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg will be asking Matyas Szuros, acting president, to call on the parties to exercise self-control in the interest of the peaceful transition. The representatives of the county unanimously condemned the alarming statements and acts of certain parties and organizations.

The SzDSz [Alliance of Free Democrats] will only enter into coalition with the MDF for the sake of the stability of the country. This was also said at today's news conference of the SzDSz where the economic program of the party was discussed. [passage omitted]

According to the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] the only possible solution for economic development is the coalition of the MDF and the SzDSz. At an election meeting in Veszprem, representatives of the FIDESZ stressed that they would like a government in which the Communists do not take part.

Right Wing Likely To Gain Election Majority

LD1602221890 Budapest MTI in English 2005 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—The interest of workers and wide masses of people dictates that nobody should be absent from the elections. If only 60 percent of the citizens with electoral rights turn out for the March 25 elections, the right wing will receive the majority of votes. A turnout of 80 percent will reinforce the Socialist Party and supply a higher number of votes for the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, said Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], at an activists' session in the headquarters of the Hungarian printing workers' union on Friday.

Mr Nyers predicts election results for his party at between 10 and 25 percent, and according to the latest opinion polls, the HSP is now at 20-25 percent.

Mr Nyers also said the party did not wish to take part in the work of the government at any cost, but it is in the interest of the country to have the HSP participate in a relatively wide coalition of four or five parties.

Briefing on Council of Ministers Meeting

LD1602211290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] A spokesman's briefing was held after the session of the council of Ministers, where our "Evening Magazine" program was represented by Peter Marvanyi.

[Begin recording] [Marvanyi] A bill will be submitted to the National Assembly on the revision of the unlawful court sentences between 1945 and 1963. Regarding certain types of cases, for example, acts against the internal and outside security of the state, sentences will be abrogated; and this, at the same time, will be considered as political, legal, and moral rehabilitation.

According to the government, there is no possibility of individual financial compensation for those affected, who number several hundred thousands, but two million [forints] were put aside for the most urgent cases of those socially in need.

The minister of education proposed amending the education law regarding the elimination of references to the old social system. Participation of the churches and foundations in education and linking the theological institutions to the educational system is to be made possible.

Legal foundations have to be created for the increased autonomy of higher education.

The concept of the Budapest university of sciences is under preparation. This will start with a kind of confederation of the Technical University, the University of

Economic Sciences, and ELTE [Lorand Eotvoes University of Sciences]. The Political College is going to be dissolved by a law decree, and a language teaching center is to take its place on the Ajtosi Duerer Avenue.

Private education will also be made possible by founding teachers' associations.

The concept of the so-called local tax is not final; the new tax, compared to the previous tax variations, means a plus, said the spokesman, but it should not mean extra burdens for the population.

I asked government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok about the stand regarding the elections, which the government considered important to make known.

[Bajnok] The anxiety about the more and more frequent antidemocratic demonstrations in public life seriously endangering the cleanness of election preparations and the elections themselves, is not unfounded.

The government resolutely condemned the events in Leninvaros. The necessary conclusions have to be drawn most resolutely from the affair, both for the political parties and for the government itself. If similar events occur they will endanger the democratic transformation to its foundation. Preventing or impeding these events depends only to a small extent on the behavior of the organizational or police forces operating at the site.

[Marvanyi] The matter of Soviet troop withdrawal has been much talked about recently. On 15 February in MAGYAR NEMZET, according to the statement of a government official, an agreement could be reached on the matter within a month.

[Bajnok] Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary for foreign affairs, reported to the Council of Ministers on the talks. He said that this week two working groups have carried out work with the utmost intensity on preparing the intergovernmental agreement for complete withdrawal and on the military and technical preparations of the withdrawal schedule. He has also reported that the series of specific talks on clarifying the economic and financial aspects of the question has started at the level of experts.

[Marvanyi] So, is it really realistic to say that the agreement will be made within a few weeks?

[Bajnok] Yes, it is realistic.

[Marvanyi] The next topic, which also concerns us radio employees, is the case of the frequency moratorium. I think that in the past few days it was the visit of Robert Maxwell that again brought the case of the frequency moratorium to people's attention.

[Bajnok] The government is not going to lift the moratorium, far from it. Anyone who carries on talks about the sale or utilization of any frequency or waveband, is only playing a lone hand and can only do this irresponsibly.

[Marvanyi] The government also discussed the noncompliance movements of citizens, the movements, which if I remember well, were initiated by the Social Democrats by saying that if, for example, the interest tax is anticonstitutional, the people should not pay it.

[Bajnok] Those who incite violation of valid laws infringe the law themselves, and so very resolute and unequivocal measures have to be taken against this initiative on tax boycott. Both appeal for a boycott and execution of the appeal constitute violation of the law and bring legal consequences.

[Marvanyi] The constitutional court is to discuss the interest tax case in March. What is going to happen if the constitutional court, in fact, decides that the interest tax is actually unconstitutional?

[Bajnok] It would be simple if I quoted Churchill, who in connection with such a supposition said His Majesty's Government has no strategy prepared in advance for events that have not yet happened. These laws have to be observed until they are valid.

[Marvanyi] There were plenty of other topics besides these at the government's session. For example, they returned to the World Expo on a few questions of details. For instance, the government proposes that the capital order a ban on construction at the site.

Regarding personnel matters, the spokesman mentioned the retirement of Laszlo Somogyi. In reply to questions, he said that Somogyi did not resign to escape, but he could have got tired of the arguments. The government thanks him for his work anyway, and it is awaiting the proposals of those competent for a young and similarly agile successor.

A few more personnel changes: Lajos Nagy was appointed leader of the national security office of the republic, and Istvan Dercze was appointed leader of the information office of the republic.

Deputy Education Minister Elemer Kelemen, Deputy Trade Minister Tibor Melega, Deputy Industry Ministers Dr. Arpad Voeroes and Dr. Istvan Koertvelyes, and Dr. Gusztav Raisz, deputy minister for agriculture and food industry, were relieved of their posts.

The foreign minister proposed that Ernoe Lakatos should be relieved of his post as leader of the Berlin embassy.

Zsolt Bajnok announced about himself that the government has relieved him of his post as editor in chief of the MAGYAR HIRLAP. The paper, incidentally, does not belong to the government any more, but Zsolt Bajnok was appointed by the Council of Ministers. His successor is Peter Nemeth. However, Zsolt Bajnok will remain the spokesman of the government in the future too.

And another interesting subject: Gambling will be regulated by law. In the meantime, until this law is made, the

finance minister can give permission, in exceptional cases, for opening casinos for operating with hard currency. [end recording]

Assembly Discusses Defense Law Amendment

LD2102112490 Budapest MTI in English 2103 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—In its Tuesday [20 February] session, the Parliament's Defence Committee discussed a bill amending the Defence Law.

According to the bill, Parliament is authorized to declare a state of emergency and set up a Council of National Defence in case of war or the imminent danger of an armed attack by a foreign power. It also belongs to the authority of Parliament to decide on the deployment of Armed Forces abroad or in Hungary.

The Constitution declares that the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian Armed Forces is the head of state. Accordingly, the bill authorizes the president of the Republic to declare state of war or state of emergency and set up the Council of National Defence, if Parliament is hindered in doing so.

National Bank Official Discusses Devaluation

LD2102102290 Budapest MTI in English 1420 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 20, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Multiple devaluations by the National Bank of Hungary [NBH] over the last three weeks have reduced the value of the forint against hard currencies by 5 per cent.

Following Tuesday's 2 per cent devaluation, the NBH has already reached its limit for 1990, as it is only entitled to a maximum 5 percent a year change—either upwards or downwards—in the rate of exchange of the national currency. Any further devaluation this year is subject to approval by the government.

The first deputy president of the NBH, Mr Imre Tarafas told MTI-ECONEWS that the bank estimates that the forint will need to be devalued by between 10 and 15 per cent in 1990 in order for country to be able to go ahead with its policy to boost exports, bearing in mind that Hungary's inflation rate of 19-20 per cent considerably exceeds the inflation figures of the West European countries.

In fact, the Hungarian Government carried out some of the projected 10-15 per cent devaluation last December alreaday, when it devalued the forint by 10 per cent against hard currencies.

Mr Tarafas rejected rumours of imminent large-scale forint devaluations by insisting that no further devaluation was planned for the next few months.

The deputy president of the central bank stressed that the only way to maintain the current forint rate was to implement the economic policy measures prompted by the IMF.

The NBH intends to continue its squeeze on money supply, which will probably produce high commercial bank interest rates, forcing most "lame duck" enterprises into bankruptcy in 1990, he said.

National Summit Issues Statement

AU1702203690 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "National Summit Statement"]

[Text] At the invitation of Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Hungarian Republic, representatives of the political parties participating in the "national summit" of 8 December 1989 held a meeting on 7 February.

The participants at the meeting started from the premise that the parties could do a lot in the coming months for Hungary's stability, the purity of our political life, and for the capacity of the democratic institutions to function. They agreed that:

1. In the remaining period of its constitutional functioning, the current National Assembly should discuss only draft laws that are essential for the governing of the country and for ensuring the continuation of the peaceful transition. Listening to the report of the acting chairman of the National Assembly and of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the parties asked them to reduce to a minimum the number of issues submitted to the parliament and, accordingly, to make proposals for the agenda of the session.

2. Given the short time left until the free National Assembly elections, the law on public administration cannot be legislated. The participants find it necessary to calm those experts and officials who have always been really serving the public cause. The participants accept and agree that, in the course of the change in the functions of public administration, political affiliation in itself will not be a selection criterion in the composition of the apparatus. At the same time, they agree that the change of personnel should be carried out gradually and carefully by thoroughly considering the requirements of professional knowledge and the ability to function. They will continue to count on good professionals.

For improving public order and public safety, the parties find it important that the competent state bodies implement the legal regulations.

3. The participants in the consultation, the leaders of the parties, the interim president of the Hungarian Republic, the active chairman of the National Assembly, and the premier call upon the organizations engaged in economic activity to exercise restraint in their pricing policy during the election campaign and to avoid increasing the prices

of basic foodstuffs because this would further increase tensions in our society and would lead to unrest among the population.

At the same time and for the same reasons, the participants also call upon the bodies that represent interests to exercise their interest-defending influence among the producers who are shaping these prices.

4. The participants expressed their intention to do their utmost for the purity of elections in accordance with the election law. They will see to it that the citizens are aware of all the necessary information and can vote according to their free decision and their conscience, in a calm atmosphere.

5. There is increased need for preserving the calm in the life of society and the ability of our economy to function until the meeting of the new National Assembly. Therefore, the participants find it necessary to avoid extremist and hysterical manifestations that incite hatred and the use of force.

6. We should celebrate our national day, 15 March, in a proper way and in the spirit of understanding and peace among the people. The election campaign should cease on this day, and there should not be any party propaganda either.

7. A new round of consultations will be held at the beginning of March, and the interim president of the republic will invite the representatives of the parties to participate and will coordinate the issues to be discussed with them. Dealing with the national and self-administrative property should be the main point on the agenda of this meeting.

Security Policy, German Reunification Assessed

Mazowiecki News Conference

LD2102203190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1530 GMT 21 Feb 90

[News conference with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by local and foreign reporters; moderated by Wozniakowski (not further identified); place not given—live]

[Text] [Wozniakowski] Would the premier take the floor, please?

[Mazowiecki] Ladies and gentlemen, I invited you to meet me today so as to present to you the Polish position on matters that are now occurring, on the manner of [German] unification, and on the issue of Poland's participation in the international negotiations devoted to this subject. I invited you to this conference not because—and I would like to state this especially clearly for the benefit of Polish opinion—not because we see any threats to our western border at this time. We have no intention of negotiating with anyone over the line of this border. It is an established part of the European order. I invited you because we consider—and this is the point from which our position proceeds—that we cannot enter the new historical stage which is being created by the process of German unification, and especially the new stage in the history of Polish-German relations, with any ambiguity whatsoever with regard to the border of a united Germany. We cannot enter it with any ambiguity whatsoever with regard to Poland's western border. In taking up this problem we are not being guided by any past resentments; we are being guided by a realistic assessment of the potential dangers that could be created should such ambiguities be allowed to remain.

We know that much has changed in Germany, in both parts of Germany, and that a new generation has been raised. However, we cannot remain indifferent to the fact that a Republican Party, which holds a certain position and expresses certain tendencies, has been created in West Germany, just as we cannot remain indifferent to certain accents in, for instance, the demonstrations in Leipzig, (?dominated by nationalist slogans). These are signals of great significance to us, by way of a warning.

We have also said many times to our interlocutors from West Germany—and I said this in person to Chancellor Kohl during his visit to Poland—that it should be noted that to a Polish ear it sounds like one thing when a German politician, especially one representing a state such as the FRG, says: I can only speak for the FRG, but I declare that in the event of Germany's unification, my position will be that of the inviolability of Poland's western border. It is another thing altogether when he says that he can only speak for the Federal Republic of Germany, while the rest of the issue remains open and unknown. We consider that we cannot enter this new stage of history with any ambiguities whatsoever as regards this matter.

We must not allow the creation of any kind of legal or political void that might allow somebody to say: The Zgorzelec Treaty is a treaty concluded by a state which no longer exists, and the treaty with the FRG is also a treaty with a state which no longer exists, which has changed its form, so now let us start the discussion from scratch.

This situation, as well as the creation, the maintaining of any ambiguities, must not be allowed to come about. That is why we are demanding that these ambiguities be removed completely, before the unification of Germany. The West German side has said many times that this is impossible without a peace treaty being concluded. Well, Poland is ready to conclude such a peace treaty, in which our borders would be affirmed in their present form. We think that this sort of free treaty arrangement, in the nature of a legal unification favorable to a peace treaty settlement, should be initialled after the elections in the GDR by the governments of both German states and Poland, and signed finally by the government of a unified German state, after unification, and (?by Poland).

We think that a treaty settlement of this issue and the ruling out of all the many ambiguities still often maintained is essential before the unification of Germany. For this reason, we have put forward the need for Poland's presence in the negotiations which will take place and which are known under the name of the Two Plus Four Formula.

Poland does not aspire to the same status as the two German states or the great powers, but I think that in the matters concerning the security of our German neighbors, and in particular ourselves, and from among Germany's neighbors, it is we who have a border of 1,000 km with Germany, and therefore these matters affect us directly. In such matters we must be present.

We think that at the early stage of the conference a part of it should be devoted to the security of Germany's neighbors, and it is the right and duty of Poland to be present during this part.

This, in general, is our stance which, as I have said already, is contained in my letter which will be conveyed by the Polish ambassadors [words indistinct] in the near future to the heads of the four powers.

Finally, I would like to state one more thing—namely, that I am of the opinion that this historic hour, in which the processes of German unification are taking place, is also a historical hour in which the value of all kinds of words and declarations about the readiness to reconciliation will be tested, reconciliation with Germany's neighbors.

The moment has arrived for this to be tested. We have said many times that we want this reconciliation, and we gave proof of this, but we also said that it is the essential condition for this reconciliation, to have unambigious recognition of the inviolability of our western border.

I am repeating today: We want this reconciliation. We think that this reconciliation between our nations is an important element of the future European order. But it is right now that it should be tested in its readiness to remove all ambiguities and in its readiness for an unambiguous attitude toward the Polish border and toward a Polish presence in those matters—matters in the negotiations about which those decisions about the future will be made.

Thank you, I have finished and I await your questions.

[Wozniakowski] Thank you very much, Mr. Premier. Please ask your questions.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Premier, when we are speaking about ambiguities, is there a possibility that ambiguities can enter through the back door of history? Specifically, what I have in mind is this: Was there a question asked in the talks with the German governments about the possibility of Germans returning to Poland, to the land which they formerly held? What would be the reaction of the Polish Government to such a question?

[Mazowiecki] I have not encountered such a question. [words indistinct] No, no, I have not encountered such a question in any talks so far. We have not been asked such a question. [words indistinct] Sir, I do not think there is any question here of any return of people who for political reasons would want to settle in those territories on purpose. Of course, the reaction to such an idea would be negative.

[Reporter] Mr. Premier, you are talking about a letter which is on its way to the four powers. Does this mean that this letter has been sent only to the four powers and not to the two German states?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, this letter is to the four powers. As for the German state, I have talked with Premier Modrow, and I think that perhaps I will be able to speak with Chancellor Kohl. The letter is addressed to the four powers.

[Reporter] Mr. Premier, your proposal is of course supported by the entire nation. We (?want) to be the spokesmen of the part which you mentioned, but the reactions of the four powers and the Germanies are negative. I will not expand on this, but they are negative. Mr. Premier, would it not be right if Poland invited to Warsaw through diplomatic channels the representatives of the nine countries which are neighbors of the two German states, to work out, here in Warsaw, a specific model for an answer to the issue of German unification and the conditions which we are putting forward—which you have mentioned, and other countries have their conditions? Should not Polish diplomacy move to take on this activity? Thank you very much.

[Mazowiecki] Well, I would like to add that, of course, we will be keeping Germany's neighbors informed by special notes about our position and the steps we are taking. If it were to turn out that such a meeting is advantageous, we would not reject such a possibility; but the point is not to make any kind of rival manifesto—it is to have an influence on the solutions, which will be (?found) at that conference. What you said is not quite correct, that the reaction of the four powers is negative, because I would not be able to find any convincing proof of that. There is yesterday's statement by UK's foreign affairs minister, which is outright positive on the subject of [Poland's] participation. There is, as you know, the interview with Gorbachev, who speaks of Poland's right to have its say [words indistinct]. There has been no official French statement as yet, has there? I would not regard the U.S. statement as final [word indistinct]. I would not regard the (?first) statement by the State Department spokesman as final. Soon we will be able to (?confront the deputy secretary of state with it).

I do not confirm, therefore, that it is negative. There is also the statement by the Italian foreign ministry, and we have a Belgian statement, haven't we? I think there is considerable, very considerable understanding for Poland's position [word indistinct] and a (?great) degree of understanding for Poland's direct participation in those negotiations.

[Reporter, in English followed by translation into Polish] REUTERS. Mr. Prime Minister, are there any other issues on German security in which Poland is interested? Mr. Edgar Bronfman of the World Jewish Congress said yesterday that Germany should never be allowed to have nuclear weapons. Does Poland (?think) that the international community should take a stand on German possession of nuclear weapons, before German reunification?

[Mazowiecki] Poland is, in general, against the spread of nuclear weapons to any country, and furthermore, we are not in favor of their spreading, and in particular their spreading to Germany. Is this going to be resolved? As we have said, so far it has not been. You also asked generally whether there were any other issues. I think there are a great many other issues concerning security in general. We have always represented the view that the process of European rapprochement should be ahead of German rapprochement. Of course, today history has overtaken this. German rapprochement has occurred faster than European rapprochement. But this does not mean that there is nothing important to be done here, that is, in catching up in the process of European rapprochement as compared to the German rapprochement, because we believe that only under this pan-European process can German rapprochement not evoke fear and misgivings in their neighbors. In this sense there are a great many important things to be discussed and raised.

[Wozniakowski] Mr. Kazimierz Dziewanowski, go ahead, please.

[Dziewanowski] Dziewanowski, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. I wanted to refer to what you said and

ask the following. Poland is involved in the difficult, and delicate, and tremendously important process of rapprochement in Europe, of opening up new roads. It is a very complex process. It was served by the visit to Brussels, the visit to Strasbourg, also the visit to London, as well as the earlier talks with Chancellor Kohl. Well, tomorrow the sixth meeting of the Polish-German Forum begins in Poznan, to which I think we could attach a fair degree of importance. And I wanted to ask how, in the context of all policies, does the premier see this meeting, and whether he would like to (?say) anything special to the forum and its participants.

[Mazowiecki] Well, the foreign affairs minister is attending the forum. Skubiszewski will be there personally, and will probably speak on behalf of the government. I regard this forum to be a very important meeting indeed. It will be attended by a great many representatives from the FRG. And what I would like to say, apart from all the arguments I expressed here, is that which I said last—that is, that I consider this to be a very important area of mutual relations.

It is an important part of the reconciliation process. Everyone who really thinks that something should be done between our nations, and that this is a historic moment, should remember that this is not just the German hour, this is also an hour of great importance which can have a long-term, serious influence on the relations between Germany's neighbors, and in particular Poles and Germans. It can have a long-term influence, depending on the way and the style and manner in which these matters are dealt with by the Germans. I would very much like the people in Germany to be aware of this.

[Reporter, in English followed by translation into Polish] I would like to ask you how you see the military assignment of the territory of the GDR after a German reunification.

[Mazowiecki] I think that it is very difficult to imagine the unification of Germany without taking into consideration the demand, which was strongly emphasized in Gorbachev's interview published today, that the unification of Germany cannot be approved with an infringement of the strategic and military balance.

I think that this is stated very clearly, and I think that everyone in the West is aware of this as well. Hence, the ideas of Minister Genscher, who spoke about NATO borders not being the same as the borders of the future united German state, and hence, as I think, the idea of (?longer) negotiations which will no doubt be (?supported) by the fact that the Soviet troops, or the Warsaw Pact troops, will stay in that part of Germany.

I cannot imagine the conclusion of this process involving an infringement of the strategic and military balance.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] from ZYCIE WARSZAWY. Mr. Premier, in the Europe of the past years or decades the interests of Poland, with regard to the Germans, were very strictly linked with the interest of the commonwealth, the interests of the military alliance, and the interests of the ideological community. One can say, simplifying the matter, that there was a certain guarantee for Polish interests, including the defense of Polish territory and security, in the alliance with the Eastern bloc, the Soviet Union, and our policy in this part of Europe.

[Word indistinct] has changed. Poland has changed, the divisions and hatreds are giving away to reconciliation, cooperation and military blocs are changing into political and defense alliances [words indistinct]. After this long introduction I would like to ask you where, in these European and Polish conditions, do you see the most important guarantees for our national and state interests, with regard to the Germans in a united Germany? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] I see the guarantees of our national interests most of all in the strong and healthy economy of a democratic Poland. I think that [words indistinct] to make the Polish economy healthy [words indistinct] is very considerable.

It is my opinion that the interdependence between a healthy national life—(?it is necessary) to heal the Polish economy—and our foreign policy, and our foreign capabilities, is very great, and it is important for public opinion, particularly in Poland, to see that this relationship exists.

[Words indistinct] we are a stable country (?and if we are stable) we shall be respected. This is the first element of our actions. [Words indistinct] in the system of international relations and our alliances.

We have not moved to the state platform from the ideological platform as regards the Polish-Soviet alliance, but this does not mean that we do not see the importance of this alliance, as regards the security of our borders. We see it to a very significant degree, and we value it very much, and we think that today's statement by Gorbachev is proof that our interests are respected and seen by the Soviet Union and our alliance is (?appreciated in the same way).

I think, (?following my 25-minute talk with Gorbachev), that in those matters which are most vital to Poland there is full understanding [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Mr. Premier, don't you think that the matter of Poland's participation in the conference on the unification of Germany is the most important test of the effectiveness of sovereign Polish diplomacy since the end of World War II?

[Mazowiecki] [Word indistinct] a very important attempt, so I think that Polish and international opinion should be mobilized to help us in this attempt, because we are making this attempt not only in our own interest [words indistinct] but also in the interest of Europe. We think that our presence is advantageous for Europe and

for the method of resolving [word indistinct]. Above all, it is also necessary in order to confirm democratic international relations. It is out of the question today that some states should decide for others. We cannot be present on these issues (?by proxy)—we must be present ourselves. It is out of the question in today's democratic international relations that there should be such a formula, a return to the Yalta formula, that one state should decide for another. Therefore our presence is an immensely important matter, also—I would say—for historical precedents in international relations.

[Wozniakowski] Next question, please.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] According to the London TIMES, quoted among others by GAZETA WYBORCZA, the Four Plus Two conference formula, [words indistinct] the United States, succumbing to pressure from the FRG Government. The TIMES describes Secretary of State James Baker's activity in Ottawa as one of the most brutal diplomatic actions since the war. How does the Polish Government assess and regard it?

[Mazowiecki] I think that in Ottawa, the more important thing in Ottawa, was the fact that to this formulation in the communique there was added the formulation I have mentioned, which says that (?this) conference is also going to deal with the security of Germany's neighbors, and that consequently the mention of the neighbors' security in the communique thereby presupposes that these neighbors will have a say. It is logical, it logically presupposes that the neighbors will have a say. We do not attribute to any of the four powers or either of the German states any other interpretation than that which says that we will be present there. And that is about all I would like to say on this subject, whereas as far as the whole event is concerned, I was not there, so I can neither confirm nor deny the [word indistinct] of THE TIMES.

[Wozniakowski] Mr. (Christie), go ahead please.

[(Christie)] [Words indistinct], KYODO Japanese Press Agency. Mr. Premier, at his last press conference Minister Skubiszewski put forward an argument that he was against German neutrality. In view of that, what in your opinion would be the best formula for [word indistinct] of Germany, the position of Germany at unification, which would serve Poland's interests best, equally in the short term and in the long term, when there would be a new European order?

And one more thing. In his statement in today's interview with PRAVDA, Mr. Gorbachev said he would defend the interests of the countries which are not in the formula of the German conference, (?seeing that) Poland does not fit within that formula. Several days ago the Soviet Union spoke about, proposed, to withdraw Soviet troops from Poland. Such a position cannot be interpreted as a watering down of Soviet guarantees for the Oldra and Nysa border, as suggested by Zdzislaw Najder (?in his) statement.

[Mazowiecki] Well, as far as Minister Skubiszewski's statement is concerned, and altogether the issue that you raised first, I think that there is undoubtedly a problem here concerning what is meant when the term German neutrality is used. I think that a certain evolution has been taking place as regards what is understood by this term. I think that recently, in the stance presented by Gorbachev, there is no more talk of neutrality, but of maintaining the strategic and military balance, about the fact that the process of Germany's unification must not disturb this balance.

We have the same view as regards this point. We agree that it would be unrealistic and dangerous for this process to infringe on the strategic and military balance. As regards neutrality, as understood until now, it is our opinion that such a large state as Germany cannot be a neutral state, and that this would cause in the future a situation similar to that after World War I. Reactions in Germany itself could be similar.

That is why we warned against it. We are of the opinion, however, [words indistinct] that that means that we are in the minority as regards this infringement of the strategic and military balance. We regard this as a very important stance, which I think is also understood and appreciated by other great powers. There is probably, however, a difficult problem of finding practical solutions to realize such a demand, but the discussion will be devoted to the very same issue.

As for the second problem, like every other nation we are in favor of not having foreign troops among us, and like every other nation we must look at our security realistically, through the set of forces and alliances, and that is how we must view the continuation of stationing troops connected strictly with the troops stationed on GDR territory.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] I have two questions. The first concerns the conference proposed by Vaclav Havel at the Polish and Hungarian parliaments. Aren't you afraid that the German issue will dominate this conference?

Second question: You mentioned at the outset that a new generation has grown up in Germany. A new generation, more than one in fact, has grown up in Poland too. My question is: What do you have to say to those young people whose parents did not even see the Polish-German war; to the people who do not necessarily treat Germany in the way older Poles do; the people who had an opportunity to earn money in Germany, to improve their standard of living, which they could not have earned in Poland; the people who were pursuaded by communist propaganda that the GDR was the bastion of communist calm and happiness, and the FRG was the country of evil and drug addiction, but for whom the journey through the GDR on the way to the FRG, and the reactions of the GDR customs [officials], demonstrated that it was not the case?

The final part of this question is: Have you anything to say to those people who, while taking part in demonstrations, consider the only slogan on nationalities policy to be: Soviets Go Home? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] As regards the first matter, that is, the conference proposed by President Havel, this can only be dealt with once the proposals are specified.

As for the second issue: Yes, I do want to say a lot to those young people. I would like them to hear what I have said here. I would like to say to them that we really are in favor of the young Polish and German generations living in harmony and friendship together. We do not want to open old wounds. We are aware of this.

We have a great proposal of reconciliation (?to put to them): Polish-German reconciliation is just as great, I think, as reconciliation, with other nations—Polish-Russian reconciliation, Polish-Czech reconciliation, (?and others). We must live in friendship with all the nations with which we live. [Words indistinct] Only, I repeat, nobody responsible for the state could, in my place, I think, allow a new stage in history to be entered with the ambiguities maintained, which (?harm) that reconciliation. I think the young generation of Poles understands me on this point. I was [word indistinct] on this.

As for your final question, I want to tell those young people to think about our country's security; to respect our neighbors; to understand that this is not the time for demonstrations, for street [word indistinct] but it is the time to work for Poland. Really, there is a great deal to be done in many areas and together we can do a great deal.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] Mr. Premier, you have said that Poland's chance lies in a strong economy. The Polish economy is burdened by debt, among others the debt to the FRG. The structure of foreign investment in Poland is more than 42 percent West German capital and only slightly above nine percent Swedish. Doesn't this foreign investment structure worry the Polish Government and, if so, what does it intend to do (?about it)?

[Mazowiecki] The Polish Government, which inherited this debt, [words indistinct] the Polish Government certainly has to pursue a certain policy as regards credits including foreign investment [word indistinct] and certainly, in this area, it will pursue such a policy, so that it does not curtail our sovereignty. And many of the elements you spoke about certainly are worrying, as you said.

But I see no reason for (?alarm) [passage indistinct] but we must constantly monitor this issue.

[Wozniakowski] Go ahead, please, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

[Reporter] Premier, in light of the changes that are now taking place in the European arena [words indistinct] how do you assess the changes taking place in Poland? Has this matter been discussed [words indistinct]?

[Mazowiecki] This issue was raised preliminarily at today's meeting of the National Defense Committee, and it shall continue to be discussed. In any case, we consider that concern for the defense [words indistinct] the concern for the defense capacity of the country is a very important concern for the state and for the public, I would say, and you cannot on the one hand demand reductions in the Army, and on the other a strengthening in the defense capacity of our country in light of the international situation. There must be some (?logic) here. These components were reflected in an agenda item of the meeting, and in particular we consider that a very important element which Polish opinion should take into consideration is concern for stabilizing (?the country) in various respects, especially as far as the Armed Forces are concerned.

[Wozniakowski] Go ahead please.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] of the Soviet Union. Premier, I would like to ask about the status of things concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops. As we all know, in his talks with the ambassador of the Soviet Union, Mr. Lech Walesa spoke of the necessity of withdrawing them. Are there any [word indistinct] between the government position and Mr. Walesa's position? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] I have said what our position is: It is such that, as I said, every nation, every country wants only its national Armed Forces in the country. It does not want [word indistinct] of foreign troops; but the whole international situation must be taken into account. We think, therefore, that the departure of the Soviet troops in Poland should be brought about (?on some time scale). But we assess the situation realistically, from the standpoint of the German program and, therefore, at this moment, we do not put this problem in these categories.

There may be more far-reaching demands, even among the most merited [word indistinct] people [word indistinct] but the government bears responsibility for the state.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] the JEDNOSC weekly. Mr. Premier, I would like a practical answer, which would [word indistinct] develop one of the earlier questions. Do you envisage that the qualitative and quantitative changes in Poland's Armed Forces in connection with German unification will cause [word indistinct] expenditure on (?conventional armaments) to rise or fall?

[Mazowiecki] Well, in any case, at this moment, in this international situation, we cannot limit military expenditure.

[Wozniakowski] Mr. (Trzcinski), please.

[(Trzcinski)] Mr. Premier, I would like to know if the possible initialling of a Polish-GDR-FRG treaty on the

subject of the borders could cause Poland to relinquish the demand to participate in the Two Plus Four conference, and how much such a signing would be a (?step backwards) in a conference begun, for instance, (?after the initial stage) of GDR-FRG talks?

[Mazowiecki] We do not (?think) that this could really be the case. It is only the conference that may result in this agreement, in our view. If it is the other way around, if this could be achieved without a conference, the point is not to attend or to have a conference for its own sake, the point is to have this achieved. Of course, it might be redundant, on one condition; namely, it would mean no issues pertaining to the security of neighbors are under discussion there. If other matters were discussed, we would have to leave, but as far as this issue, this demand, is concerned, here we cannot give up.

[Wozniakowski] Please go ahead.

[Reporter] [Indistinct question about FRG Constitution's provision for granting German citizenship to certain categories of Polish citizens]

[Mazowiecki] I would say this is an exaggerated interpretation to say that the FRG Government makes decisions affecting citizens of our country just because there is some article on the basis of which things lend themselves to being interpreted in this way. This is all the more so since we ourselves say we are looking into and debating the possibilities of dual citizenship. We cannot approach the issue in this way.

On the other hand, the problem is after all a political one. The problem rests on the abuse of the concept of the so-called German minority, yes? We said in the course of the visit by Chancellor Kohl that the rights of the minority were not respected. We want to respect them beginning now. We will respect them. On the other hand, we will very strictly look to matters, that this not be exaggerated, what actually is the case, what belongs to this minority, what this minority really is. We will adhere to this very strictly. We will counteract all exaggerated activities, all such activities, as these are tendentious. I think the main problem lies here. I understand that the problem, above all, is one of political activities and not of legal interpretations.

[Wozniakowski] In the last row, please.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct], GDR Radio. Mr. Premier, has the Polish Government recently had any contacts with the Holy See on the German question? And, how does the premier assess the significance of the moral factor for the future of relations between Poles and Germans?

[Mazowiecki] The Polish Government constantly maintains contact with the Holy See through the nuncio in Warsaw. Of course, these international subjects are discussed as part of other contacts. We have not had any special talks on this matter, but we will be clarifying our position to the Holy See. As to the moral factor in Polish-German relations, I have already mentioned that we attach great weight to this. When we speak of reconciliation, we speak of the weight of the moral factor, (?without commentary).

[Wozniakowski] Next, please.

[Reporter] Mr. Premier, I (?understand) what you said in (?Bedzin), that it is necessary to demonstrate to the Polish public that our border is a fixed border. Is this really a fixed border? This is of course a theoretical question, but I have the feeling this is an important and marvelous opportunity to restore the historic border of Poland. Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] To the historic, the former, yes?

[Wozniakowski] [Words indistinct] could you repeat, please?

[Reporter] The historic border of Poland.

[Mazowiecki] Sir, my reply is that I feel no nation can live in such a way, live in uncertainty and think that in a number of years its borders may be changed.

I do not know whether you can imagine this sort of thing in your own country, this possibility. I am responsible for Poles who live in Szczecin, Wroclaw, and it is there that they have a sense of being citizens, as well as in Gorzow and everywhere else. If I said it would not be a good thing for the Polish nation to feel that it had been Stalin's gift, I said it in the context of our present and of the way in which we deal with things. The point is that it must be known, and it must be clear that this matter is being settled by the Poles themselves and not, as I have said, in one way or another by proxy. And that is why we regard this matter as being of very great importance indeed. I would warn against any trends in politics, publishing, or journalism which take this direction, that is, opening the question of European border problems. It is not only Polish borders which are involved but many, many other border problems, and so I warn against this.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct], editorial board of (RESPUBLIKA). I would like to ask about the matter of changing the diplomatic corps. Of late, voices have been heard in various parts of the West and in the United States very critical of the fact that Poland's foreign diplomats have remained unchanged. Such voices can also be heard among Germany's Polish expatriate community. What is your view about the prestige of this diplomatic corps?

[Mazowiecki] I think these voices speak out of ignorance and misunderstanding. Staff movement has been extensive. Nineteen ambassadors have been recalled. Changes are also affecting other posts. These changes are simply taking place. But it is imperative to respect certain official customs and practices. Not everything can be done in a day. They also require that respect be shown to people. It is simply not possible to do it in a day. But, I reiterate, the scope of these changes is bigger than people

know. This is true for changes that have already been accomplished and also for the many changes currently under way.

[Robert Bogdanski] BBC Polish section. Mr. Premier, would you, in a few sentences, outline your appraisal of the relations between Poland and the FRG, making particular mention of economic relations. That is to say, can the conflict manifesting itself between Poland and the FRG with regard to the question of Poland's participation in the two plus four conference somehow affect economic relations and, in particular, affect the FRG's economic assistance to Poland?

[Mazowiecki] Minister Skubiszewski's talks, held in Bonn recently, have, I would say, summed up what has taken place since Chancellor Kohl's visit. In the very near future—at the beginning of March—we expect that a session of the Polish-FRG Economic Commission will be held in Warsaw. Hence, my view is that these things are proceeding normally and without obstacles; I think this will be the case in the future, too.

[Wozniakowski] We are coming to an end, last question, sir, please go ahead.

[Jan Jasnek] From Katowice. Mr. Premier, just a moment ago you voiced two very important statements to the effect that you feel responsible for people who live between Szczecin and Silesia. The question of the German minority in Poland was raised. Let me here use an example that is a few days old against the backdrop of repeat balloting in the Opole region elections. One cannot but notice certain attempts at outside interference in these elections. It can be openly acknowledged that this represented a kind of violation of good political custom and practice, not to say interference. Here I cannot but recall past events: Mr. (Koszyk), general secretary of the union of expellees, was present at a certain conference held in Warsaw at the end of September and beginning of October last year. At a subsequent news conference, he outlined a certain scenario of action which can be perceived as instructions for the currently active unions of national minorities. Mr. Premier, do you think that certain things that take place on the margin, as it were, of national politics and which worry the local population can be regarded as a kind of symptom of concern to be taken into account? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] Sir, there are many fears, but then again we ought not to magnify them. We already have enough real fears [word indistinct] without adding to them those particularly magnified by us. I propose, that is, I think, above all, I believe that these problems which you have raised, sir, are important, but I am against blowing these minority problems out of proportion. We must learn some sort of normal coexistence with one another, opposing, of course, as I have said, such exaggeration, but also learning some sort of normal, healthy coexistence, which we seem to have unlearned over a long period, and which must be relearned in order to recognize realities. And naturally, we must oppose in a decisive way all artificial methods of magnifying or maintaining this.

[Wozniakowski] Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, for your presence at this conference, and I thank the premier very much for this hour.

[Mazowiecki] Thank you very much. I wish you, ladies and gentlemen, [word indistinct] so that in this central issue for Europe, you may raise important problems for Poland, for Europe which are [word indistinct]. [applause]

RZECZPOSPOLITA View Given

LD1602133290 Warsaw PAP in English 1227 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—On the day of the working visit to Poland by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, the RZECZPOSPOLITA government daily writes that there are a few reasons why this visit is taking place just on time.

"The issues to be settled include Poland's further relations with the GDR and the inclusion in the German-German unity talks of the Polish interests stemming from our to-date accords with the GDR and everyday practice (economy, cooperation in science and technology, etc)," the daily says.

"The importance of the visit compels to mentioning at least a few questions requiring urgent settlement," the paper says and names the continuing anti-Polish moods present not only in the GDR press as one of them.

"What is most important for us are questions of Germany's possible unification. Obviously, they will require not only regular mutual contacts but also cooperation between the GDR and Poland," it adds.

"Above all, one must obtain guarantees that the fact of German unity will not deprive Poland and the Poles of the sense of security and the possibility of meeting their own goals.

"Nobody has ever doubted that, while showing understanding for the will of the German Nation, we see and stress the necessity for preserving an iunctim [word as received] between the possible German unity and a guarantee for our borders, for our safety which is so much linked with the safety of all Europe. As a matter of fact this is nothing else but a call to fulfil Konrad Adenauer's testament," RZECZPOSPOLITA writes.

"Hans Modrow will have a chance to join our postulate," RZECZPOSPOLITA writes, "and voices of those states which think that Poland must be included in the unification talks to be attended by representatives of the former great coalition: Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States as well as the FRG and the GDR.

"It is hard to name all the problems to be settled before reunification takes place. They all however make one think that the creation of one German state should be crowned not with a peace treaty but with the signing of a treaty that liquidates the consequences of the 2nd World War.

"Such is the dimension of the ongoing transformations in central and Eastern Europe and such is the dimension of the process of Germany's reunification," the paper concludes.

Bundeswehr Reduction Proposed

AU1602151490 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Jerzy Markowski commentary: "Without Beating About the Bush"]

[Text] The breakneck speed of the process of German reunification raises well-founded fears, especially for us Poles. Putting aside our emotions and prejudices, but not our historical experiences, we must think about the difficult problems that still remain to be solved. These are problems of a military nature. Putting the solution of these problems off into the future, invoking the future international conference, which is to create a new European security system, looks like an attempt to pull the wool over our eyes. The logic behind this approach is simple: Let us not raise these difficult issues in order not to hinder the process of German reunification. This is unacceptable. On the contrary, we must focus on these problems as we have never done before.

Surprising things are happening in military matters when set against the background of reunification. There is talk of removal or substantial cuts in the number of Soviet troops currently stationed in the GDR, and there is talk that NATO—including a reunified Germany under its umbrella—will not extend its influence further to the east, but there is nothing said about the future role of the Bundeswehr in a reunified Germany. Why should this be so? Why do none of the unification projects make any mention of limiting the size of the Armed Forces of a future Germany? Why are the great powers not bothering to pressure the future German sovereign state into renouncing the use of nuclear weapons now, when they can still exercise some kind of pressure? Nothing would seem to stand in the way of obtaining such a concession. Such a demand would be sensible and would not be disagreeable to the Germans.

For us Poles today, the future of the Bundeswehr cannot be a matter of indifference. We know that it will be very strong. It is equipped with the latest technology. There is no branch of military technology—including rocket and missile technology—that remains unknown to the German military armaments manufacturers. The strength of a modern army is not decided by its numbers, but by its quality, and the Bundeswehr is strong on both counts. Additionally, we are already seeing some interesting developments—as reported by one of the West German weeklies—that special companies of ex- GDR citizens are already in the process of being formed, and apparently, some 115,000 ex-GDR citizens are already in the queue to join the Bundeswehr. Fears of the potential growth of the Bundeswehr can be alleviated by Western promises of linking this army to NATO and thus securing some direct control, but as things stand presently there is nothing to stop a reunified Germany from withdrawing from the Atlantic Charter. The provisions of the Atlantic Charter guarantees this right to all signatories. The question whether Germany will make use of this provision is not simply a rhetorical one.

One has to agree with Henry Kissinger that the present line of political and military demarcation is no longer the same in Europe. If this is so, the divergence will increase in the future. Thus, our apprehensions are not at all exaggerated. It is not difficult to imagine that given the current pressures for the demilitarization of the GDR, Soviet troops will eventually leave this territory. The question is not whether, but when? When this happens, it will have a direct implications for us. Seen in this context, the matter of the quality and quantity of the Polish Armed Forces—the guardian of Polish sovereignty and security in the system of our alliances—assumes new meaning. The problem of German reunification has made this clear for all to see. In three to five years' time it may be too late. The issue requires maximum probity in formulating our defense policy. Looking toward the a greater Europe, we must not neglect our specific national interests.

European realities are changing fundamentally. We should be able to recognize these changes, and without emotion, firmly apply them in our policies. The military side of this problem must also be looked at without any evasions or silences. No harm to the process of reunification would be done by securing obligations to reduce the Armed Forces of the two German states to a necessary minimum, plan a gradual withdrawal of foreign troops from the respective territories, refrain from stationing nuclear weapons, and reduce their military potential within the framework of their respective alliances. It may be that as a result of such assurances there would be fewer surprises for everybody, including us.

National Defense Committee Stance

LD2102191290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] The National Defense Committee, which met today under the chairmanship of the president of the Polish Republic, and with the Council of Ministers chairman taking part, has taken the view that discussion of the security of the states neighboring the GDR and the FRG, in connection with the question of German unification, should take place with Poland participating in the part concerning its interests.

The National Defense Committee is in favor of solving the German problem through a treaty. Such a treaty should, in particular, reaffirm the lasting nature of

Poland's western borders and should apply to the future united German state as a binding peace regulation. The unification of Germany should be linked to the process of unification of Europe, taking into consideration the requirements of stability and balance of forces, and the construction of a new system of security on our continent. The committee adopted the defense doctrine of the Polish Republic which will be published in the near future.

Sejm Speaker's Support Voiced

LD2202102290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0811 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Speech by Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Koazkiewicz at Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] May it please the House!

The meeting of the Sejm today is entirely devoted to important economic laws, with the budget law having top priority. This will be a three-day meeting of the Sejm devoted to exceptionally important internal matters of the country, whose resolution will push forward the work of economic, social, and political reforms.

Simultaneously, exceptionally important international processes are taking place in the world. The German question has taken on exceptional importance and relevance, and today [we see] the problem of the unification of Germany. In the Sejm we will soon debate the report by the foreign affairs ministers on the subject of Polish foreign policy. Nonetheless, already today I wish to make the following statement:

There has been clear acceleration in the process of the unification of Germany. Many former plans and promises of leading statesmen associated with the unification of Germany lose their relevance after a few months; new solutions are sought. Poles do not negate the right of the self-determination of nations, because they are conscious of it and have contributed to it themselves; they have introduced what are so far the most far-reaching economic and political reforms of all the countries of Eastern Europe. They achieved this without harming the stability of their own state and without threatening the security of other countries. The question for us is not whether Germany is to unite, but when and how this is to be implemented so as not to disturb the balance of forces in Europe, and so as to create therein a new system of security—so that none of Germany's neighbors feel threatened.

We observe the attention and assent given to our government's activities in this field and especially its demand for the unambiguous and treaty-based recognition of the inviolability of the border on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse. We also regard it as natural to demand a place at the conference table for a representative of Poland. This conference table should be based on the four-plus-two formula when matters directly concerning us will be discussed. Poland has numerous, historic causes for her voice to be directly and unambiguously heard. The historic experiences of Yalta also teach the consequences of arrangements made by the great powers with the omission of interested countries. All of this cannot be allowed to happen again. That is why we support with full conviction the efforts of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki Government, as there is expressed therein not only the prerogative of the moment but also the wisdom of historic experience. That is why we will support the government in its efforts associated with the question of the unification of Germany. The deputies present in this chamber, irrespective of the differences of view on domestic matters, have a uniform view on matters associated with the independence and territorial integrity of the country. They are inviolable. Thank you for your attention.

Solidarity Statement Issued

LD2102235390 Warsaw PAP in English 2313 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 21—The Solidarity National Executive Commission today issued a statement on Germany's unification after a meeting attended by Lech Walesa.

"We consider it normal that the Germans want to live in one country," the document read.

"A political debate on the future of Germanys will start soon. It is to be attended by four superpowers and two German states. Poland has the right to participate in this part of the talks which would directly, or indirectly, refer to her security and relations with the unifying German states, the more so that many German politicians refused to finally recognize Poland's western border," it said.

"The scale of losses Poland suffered during the 2nd World War, her contribution to the Allied forces' victory over the 3rd Reich, and above all the fundamental character of the Polish-German border for the Polish reason of state give the Republic of Poland the right to attend these talks," the statement said.

Concern Over New 'Reich'

AU2102141790 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Feb 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Before A New 'Reich' Emerges"]

[Text] The unification of Germany is no longer a vision and a subject of office talks. As Poles, we are now facing a new situation. How should we relate to it, what should we do? TRYBUNA put this question to a few politicians, scholars, and writers.

Dr. Tadeusz Iwinski, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP]: "For many years we have been observing factors that act both as a restraint and as an accelerator of the process of German unification. Today, the restraining factors are dominant. Poland cannot

refuse Germany the right to self-determination, including unification, but for historical reasons one should state the conditions under which this should take place. It lies in our interests for this process to be combined with a final and unequivocal declaration about the inviolability of Polish borders.

"The unification is in progress, and one cannot expect it to stop. But its recent acceleration is fraught with many dangers. Of these, one can mention the possibility of certain mechanisms getting out of control, an upsurge in nationalist trends in both German states, and a violation of the international order that is based on an a balance of forces between East and West. The interests of Poland require that the unification of Germany be steered and controlled, and be incorporated in the process of European integration in accordance with the spirit of Helsinki. The point in particular is to create new structures of collective security. It would seem that a united Germany's membership of NATO would violate Poland's interests.

"The SDRP believes that in the face of the phenomena occurring between the Rhine and Odra Rivers, Poland will have to redefine its relations with Germany not only in the political sphere, but also in the economic ad cultural spheres. Therefore it is necessary to seek a consensus between all Polish political forces on the subject of Germany."

Marian Podkowinski, writer: "On his return from Moscow, Chancellor Helmut Kohl said, full of euphoria, that this was the 'happiest day of my life'. I can understand that. After all, the consent obtained in Moscow has opened wide the door to German unification.

"But I very much doubt if this is the happiest day in Poland's life, not just because we might once again be a buffer between the USSR and the new Reich (even if Bonn is reluctant to use this expression), but also because the situation in 1939 may repeat itself. In many basic issues concerning European security, the present Soviet Union seems utterly powerless, and the aspirations of a major part of German society to bring the GDR standard of living in line with that of the FRG might turn the eyes of Germans in the direction of our western and northern territory.

"Who will guarantee that after a few years, there will be no voices in the Reichstag (yes, in Berlin) insisting that Szczecin has always been Berlin's maritime base, and that Wroclaw is the seat of the Catholic diocese in which the infamous anti-Polish Cardinal Bertram resided? Who will guarantee that no new Hupka or Czaja [leaders of German communities who are demanding the return of prewar German territory] will appear in a few year's time? Has anyone forgotten how after World War I, Treviranus and other "megalo-Germans" demanded the return of Bydgosz cz and Katowice?

"Those are the questions I am being asked by my readers, listeners, and audiences. We all know from our own bitter experience how much treaties are worth. Of course we cannot halt the unification process, but it will be good if we can become a "party" to this process, now that Moscow has agreed to it.

"But should we not consider convening a conference of Germany's neighbors in Warsaw while there is still time, and jointly present demands for safety guarantees in the face of German unification? Germany has nine neighboring countries, including France. Because Bonn is also saying that without the consent of its neighbors and the Big Four, Germany should not receive the go-ahead for unification, a joint preventive step by Germany's neighbors will establish the limits which Germany cannot exceed. I do not mean just the political borders, but also the combined armed forces of the German states, which will become a key force in Europe. Nor do I mean that Germany should be neutral. All we need are guarantees that Germany will at least exercise constraint, also within the NATO framework. It is not the past we are concerned about, but the future, now that everyone is acceding to the demands of Bonn and Berlin.

"One cannot create a vacuum after the Potsdam treaty, which has guaranteed peace on our continent for almost half a century. The resolutions adopted by Germany's nine neighbors, duly ratified by the Big Four, may create a framework for Europe's continued peaceful development. If we agree to German unification, let us not cease examining Germany's hands. Caveant consules!" [Latin expression used]

COCOM Controls on Technology Export Relaxed

LD1602221490 Warsaw PAP in English
2038 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, Feb. 16 (PAP)—The Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [COCOM], the Western watchdog group affiliating 17 countries that for the last 40 years has exercised rigorous control over high-technology sales to central and east European states, has tonight decided to grant better treatment to Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

For instance, COCOM has shortened the period of examination of export contracts from 12 to 8 weeks in three important fields of technology, namely computers, telecommunication equipment and machine tools.

Moreover, it resolved to make a review of the list of products covered by embargo on sales to eastern-central Europe and liberalise the list significantly. The process of revision has already started.

1944-45 Executions Under Investigation

LD1302182190 Warsaw PAP in English
1603 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Biala Podlaska, Feb. 13—Investigation is under way into executions of Polish citizens between the years 1944 and 1945 in what is now the Kakolewnica village community in the eastern Polish province of Biala Podlaska.

Interrogation of Polish partisans accused of actions against the socialist authority were also carried out by NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] functionaries who were members of a local court martial, a witness said.

Those sentenced to death were transported to a nearby forest which was guarded by Soviet soldiers. Polish citizens may have also been executived without a court verdict, the district prosecutor in Radzyn Podlaski told PAP.

Police Appeal to Public To Help Maintain Order

AU2102120690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Statement issued on behalf of the General Police Inspectorate; place and date not given]

[Text] In accordance with the tasks stipulated by law and in accordance with its duties to the Romanian people, the police are taking firm action to protect the legitimate interests of all citizens and their rights and freedoms sanctioned by the revolution to ensure order and public peace and a climate of civic security, which are essential conditions for the normal progress of public activity, the peaceful work of national construction and economic recovery, which was so badly damaged under Ceausescu's dictatorship.

In this regard, the police have the legal and moral mission to combat any kind of antisocial act which threatens citizens' lives, dignity, and property, the proper progress of the social, political, and economic activity, and public order and peace.

We are convinced that all citizens of good faith, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, inspired by the fervent wish to contribute to the construction of a free, democratic, and prosperous society, cannot but dissociate themselves from the riotous, delinquent, and aggressive elements which, through violence, fraud, and flagrant violation of the legal norms of civilized conduct, harm fruitful coexistence and deal a blow to the legitimate interests of the entire nation.

All honest citizens are keenly interested in counteracting unlawful acts and effectively exposing those who disturb the public peace, commit acts of vandalism, engage in profiteering, and commit other such acts.

In close cooperation with the police bodies, people of good faith will be able to effectively contribute toward preventing and combating antisocial acts, defending their own legitimate interests, and preserving a climate of civic security.

All citizens are requested to support the police and to dissociate themselves from those delinquent elements whom the police are trying to apprehend and immobilize by making use of the means clearly provided for in specific legal provisions.

Press Reaction to 18 Feb Demonstrations

AU2102195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1923 GMT 21 Feb 90

["The Miners and the Parliamentarians"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1990—Mass media in Romania have often illustrated these last few weeks the opinion that many good people in this country do not take action and this passivity starts showing, becoming the contrary of what it looks: too wider ground for maneuvering for some social groups (maybe even political or professional) that are resolved to destabilize the country. And the word "destabilization," as daily ADEVARUL assesses, already says too little. For, what happened on February 18 in the Victory Square can easily be termed as an attempted coup. "Grave, grave." The daily stresses.

However, there were in the Romanian society forces that opposed in their exemplary way to the evil, and they were the miners, who came to the capital for the second time to impose the law of common sense, of love for the country. Expressing their protest against the baleful effects of the vandalic acts committed in the name of democracy the miners demonstrated that they could be miners and parliamentarians alike. But, the miners-parliamentarians dialogue must be viewed from another angle as well. For, the daily ADEVARUL highlights, the miners acted as a new political formation, and ad- hoc superparty resolved to do justice by itself, to ensure all by itself the order as long as would be needed. Which "is not good at all" the daily shows, concluding: For the evil not to triumph, the good ones must not stand arms crossed forcing the miners to do politics and mining at the same time.

Daily DIMINEATA considers that we witnessed in the night of February 18 a superb lesson in history of democracy, in dignity and national responsibility.

ROMANIA LIBERA, under the signature of publicist Mihai Creanga, poses a string of questions to the Jiu Valley miners, among which, whether their coming to Bucharest was necessary. Anton Uncu considers in the same daily that the miners "knock at open doors" when they blame the hooligans of the evening of February 18, meaning that the whole nation was vexed by the vandalic acts. "But, if they were dispersed and apprehended, we let the government and judiciary to do their job" the daily concludes.

In an article on the instances of violence, the evening daily "DREPTATEA," organ of the National-Peasant Party writes on February 21: "We vehemently condemn all hooliganic actions adjacent to the decent demonstrations like the one that proceeded in the Victory Square. We do not know whether the abuses were staged by professional instigators. We demand all conscientious citizens to give up such practices that endanger the country's future and bring the civilized world's disapproval."

Chitac on Army Officers' Demonstration

PM1602121490 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Interior Minister Mihai Chitac by Patrice Claude in Bucharest on 14 February]

[Text] Bucharest—[Claude] General Chitac, a section of the Army is demonstrating; it accuses you of participating in the Timisoara repression in December and is demanding your resignation....

[Chitac] That is untrue. I did not take part in the repression. Moreover, I had no soldiers under my command; I was responsible for the troops of the city's chemical military unit (Troops expert in radio and chemical reconnaissance [reconnaissance radio et chimique]. They are also sometimes combatant troops, according to a military expert).

[Claude] And yet, numerous protesting officers told us they had a video showing you holding a gun in the streets of Timisoara before Ceausescu's fall....

[Chitac] I did indeed go out onto the streets on 18 December and it is possible that they filmed me having discussions with chemical troops. But I certainly did not have a gun in my hand. I repeat that I did not take part in the repression. I would like to see this video about which there is so much talk, but which nobody has seen.

[Claude] The fact remains that the officers who have been demonstrating outside the seat of the provisional government for three days are persistently demanding your resignation.

[Chitac] Listen, so far the government has not asked me to do anything. However, it is possible that they might give in to pressure from the crowd and force me to go. Moreover, if the pressures continue in this way, I would resign because, to be frank, it is better to be in retirement in the present climate....

[Claude] What climate?

[Chitac] You know, I think that failure to understand freedom can lead to anarchy and I am afraid that we are heading for that. Frankly, I did not think that our revolution would turn out this way. It is being asked to do increasingly complicated things. We have entered a spiral of demands and complaints expressed by all sections of the population and they cannot all be satisfied. The country is already in a difficult economic position. However, the army is now joining this spiral of demands.

[Claude] It is complaining in particular about the inclusion in its ranks of former Securitate members....

[Chitac] That was done to control them more effectively and to slowly disband that body in a more effective way. That should perhaps have been more clearly explained. But the officers are also complaining about the fact that retired members of the military are being brought back into service. Young officers feel that this is jeopardizing their promotion. That is why they are calling for the resignation of Militaru (the defense minister). And, as I was appointed at the same time as him, they are also calling for my head.

[Claude] Will they obtain it?

[Chitac] General Militaru is adhering to his position and, as far as I know, he does not intend to resign. Having said that, there is growing unrest; I therefore think that these events will probably end in us both being fired. Whatever happens, it is the revolution which will be victorious.

More on Militaru Resignation, Political Climate

PM2102143290 Paris LE MONDE in French 18-19 Feb 90 p 4

[Patrice Claude dispatch: "Defense Minister Is Forced To Resign"]

[Text] Bucharest—Now it is six! The resignation of Defense Minister Nicolae Militaru, announced as almost incidental on television, confirms the fragility of the Romanian provisional government, if there was any need to do so. In the space of one month, Gen. Militaru, the main target of the officers and junior officers who have been demonstrating for several days outside government headquarters in Bucharest, is the fourth minister to lose his portfolio and the sixth major figure in the National Salvation Front who has been forced to resign.

He is a personal friend of Ion Iliescu, the current chairman of the Provisional National Unity Council—with whom Gen. Militaru made plans to overthrow Ceausescu several months before the revolution—and Iliescu himself praised the career of his former minister: "Gen. Militaru," the communique states, "played a decisive role during the revolution. Until the terrorist forces were defeated, he coordinated the armed forces and ensured stability in the country.... During the past 10 years of dictatorship, he tried to organize armed resistance against it.... However, some of the defense ministry's decisions prompted discontent and a state of tension among the national Army's officers which could have been avoided." Clearly, although the communique states that Chairman Iliescu "accepted the resignation" of his minister, the latter seems to have been forced to go.

Increasingly Tense Atmosphere

Moreover, a few hours before this "resignation," General Lucian Culda, the minister's assistant and official spokesman for the defense ministry, said in an interview granted to LE MONDE, that Gen Militaru had "understood" that he needed to be better known by the public and by the troops and was going to speak on television "in the next few days." There is no doubt that Gen Militaru had no intention of abandoning his post on Friday morning.

On Friday, almost 100 soldiers were back among the hundreds of civilian demonstrators who gather every day—or almost every day—in Victory Square and outside the television building. Besieged every day by hundreds of dissatisfied people, opposition members, or strikers, the main organ of the national media decided on Friday to broadcast an appeal on its screens every hour

signed by the "trade union of television workers" reminding the population that the television "is a channel for information and not a structure for solving individual problems." The trade union is therefore "respectfully" asking everybody to allow the television network to do its work in peace.

During the evening, reporting the work of the first meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] Executive Bureau, comprising 21 members appointed by the National Salvation Front and the other parties in this provisional parliament, free Romanian television was able to broadcast an appeal for "moderation and calm." Then, as if to add to the growing tension, the television showed a report on the revolution in Brasov, showing terrible pictures of civilian corpses. In this confused and explosive atmosphere, it is difficult to determine the direction in which events are moving. One thing is certain: The provisional government is growing more divided and weaker every day.

Rumors of a Coup d'Etat

The crowd demanded the head of Gen. Militaru, and obtained it. Some dissident officers publicly demanded his replacement by General Victor Stanculescu, who is currently national economy minister. They also obtained satisfaction. The new defense minister, a fierce advocate of economic liberalization, was head of the department of armaments and logistics in the defense ministry under the previous regime. Will he be able to allay the persistent malaise in the army and, at the same time, save what little credibility the government still has?

"The Army, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, is the only organized force in this country." Speaking on television on Thursday, a young officer, representing the protestors received by the provisional government, put forward his arguments: The Army can take over everything, he suggested, from the economy to defense.

"Oh! That was an irresponsible statement," Gen. Lucian Culda said on Friday morning. "I do not deny," he added, "that some political forces are pushing the army in that direction. Having said that, the military has always rejected that alternative. Moreover, I think that we have moved beyond the critical point. The PNUC is functioning and we can hope that the calls for a coup d'etat will stop."

"The political situation is still fairly complex and some people are trying to take advantage of that," according to the young (49 year old) general, formerly a colonel in the Higher Political Council on Defense. "But, with regard to the Army, we think that the wave of indiscipline will wane and we can already see a positive reaction (to the government's proposals) which is not causing much of a stir but which has the support of the majority of the Army. Of course, we are counting on that to calm people's minds because we have never envisaged using force (against the uniformed protestors) and we still do not intend to do so."

Military Casualties Since Revolution Reported

AU2002185990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Here is a statement from the National Defense Ministry:

Between 17 December 1989 and 30 January 1990, the following casualties were registered among army conscripts, cadres, and civilians participating in the December 1989 revolution: 270 dead and 673 wounded.

On 18 February 1990, 70 soldiers were still hospitalized in the Central Military Hospital and in military hospitals in Brasov, Sibiu, and Timisoara. At the same time, 15 soldiers are being treated in hospitals abroad: four in Italy, three in France, seven in the FRG, one in Great Britain, and one in Austria.

Army Officers Demand Senior Ranks Be Cleared

AU2202094490 Paris AFP in English 0126 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 22 (AFP)—Protesting Romanian Army officers said late Wednesday [21 February] they were maintaining their demands for a clear-out among senior ranks and greater democracy, despite the appointment of a new defence minister. Two officers, an army captain and an air force lieutenant colonel, said in a statement read on Romanian television that they respected the new minister, General Victor Stanculescu, who "offers us all the guarantees". But the protesters said "we have not stopped receiving messages of support from other military units", and called on soldiers to "help us to fully elucidate the problems of the army's involvement in the revolution so there will only be soldiers in our ranks who deserve the people's confidence". Gen. Stanculescu replaced General Nicolae Militaru last Friday—one of the key claims of the protesters, whose action began earlier this month.

The officers want a clear-out of former members of the hated Securitate secret police who have been incorporated into the army since the revolution, and the removal of soldiers who collaborated with the Ceausescu regime. They are also calling for greater democracy within the armed forces.

Their protest became public February 12, when a group of protesting officers made a surprise appearance on national television, issuing demands which also included the resignation of Interior Minister General Mihai Chitac.

The officers said Wednesday they appreciated the patience of Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu, who has since had talks with them, "for listening to us for about six hours, rather than because of the responses he made". "He enabled us to be specific about our positions", the statement said.

The officers also disassociated themselves from the storming of the government's headquarters last Sunday by about 1,000 angry demonstrators, who briefly seized Mr. Voican Voiculescu, demanding his resignation.

Aside from the resignation of Gen. Militaru, seen as close to Romanian leader Ion Iliescu, the provisional government has also agreed to set up commissions to examine ways of meeting the protesters' demands. The officers had suggested Gen. Stanculescu as a compromise candidate, following their original demand for a civilian as defence minister.

Liberal Party Leader Campeanu on Power Sharing

PM1602143690 Paris LIBERATION in French 9 Feb 90 p 19

[Interview with Liberal Party leader Radu Campeanu by Pierre Haski in Paris; date not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] [Haski] You said that you have obtained more from the government than you had hoped. How do you explain that?

[Campeanu] One week before the agreement, the three "historical" parties had a three-hour meeting with Iliescu. I told him that the Front could not be a candidate in the elections while it had a monopoly of power. The only way of overcoming that situation was for him to abandon or share power. We received no reply. One week later, at the roundtable meeting, Iliescu immediately gave his agreement. The six hours of discussion which followed related to ways of sharing power, whereas I only expected a very difficult discussion on the principle itself.

[Haski] Are you satisfied with the new structure?

[Campeanu] We have opened a door to political and social stability, and perhaps to authentic democracy. This is a good thing but it is not certain, we will see what happens on Friday. Any changes are possible with those gentlemen, that is why everybody is distrustful.

[Haski] Are the new rules of the game clear?

[Campeanu] Many things are still vague, especially the composition of the Council itself. We think there are two equal parts, one with 90 members representing the 30 registered parties, including the National Salvation Front, the other, also with 90 members, comprising 42 provincial delegates and 48 prominent people drawn from the intellectual and scientific world, and so forth, and from the minorities. Those 42 delegates will probably mainly be Front members, but nobody can yet know who the 48 will be. In principle, everybody has the chance of proposing and criticizing the people nominated, especially with regard to their past..... However, for the time being, we have no certainty either about the balance, or the procedures.

[Haski] Have the tensions disappeared?

[Campeanu] Everybody is distrustful, but I think that, despite that, a step forward is being taken. We have succeeded in defusing the bomb, maintaining stability, and avoiding the worst. Henceforth, the opposition will have access to important state files and, being inside the city, we will be able to monitor the objectivity of the elections more effectively. The atmosphere is now one of expectation, even if there are still people who want to fight with the Front. If the National Salvation Front does not hamper the work and does not commit acts of sabotage, a spirit of cooperation could be established and could last until the elections.

[Haski] Does it go without saying that Iliescu will remain chairman?

[Campeanu] For the time being, I cannot see anybody who could replace him. He is a man with whom it is possible to have discussions.

[Haski] Do you think that the "historical" parties have regained their place in Romania?

[Campeanu] Not entirely. We have not yet succeeded in explaining some things to the workers, notably regarding the privatizations associated with the firing of most of the workers. This is a simplistic view which results from years of propaganda. People's thinking needs to be completely changed. Of course, we do not want to aggravate the situation. We are the pragmatists of liberalism.

[Haski] Have the exiles not been rejected?

[Campeanu] There is a widespread feeling, especially among the workers most exposed to communist propaganda: "You ate white bread when we were eating black bread," and so forth. But there were two categories of exiles, those who wanted to grow rich, and those who were fleeing persecution. When I explain that I served 9 years in prison and that the bread in there was very black, they understand. There are exiles and exiles....

Roundtable Deliberates on New Election Bill

AU2102163890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1538 GMT 21 Feb 90

["Debates on Voting Bill" ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/2/1990—A new round of talks to make final the new election bill takes place in Bucharest, with the participation of the members of the Legal Commission of the National Unity Provisional Council, of the drafting group and of representatives of political parties and formations.

After consensus will be reached on the bill provisions, it is to be submitted for approval to the National Unity Provisional Council.

Deliberation Reaches Consensus

AU2102195290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1746 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1990—Round-table talks on the draft voting law have ended today in Bucharest. At the end of six meetings, general agreement was reached by participants who represent all political parties and formations on all its provisions.

According to the basic principles of the bill, political power in Romania is vested in the people, with the government system being democratic, pluralist based on the separation of powers-legislative, executive and judicial. Political leaders in the state are elected for one or two terms at the most.

The country's bicameral parliament, comprised of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate, and the president of the country are elected by free universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. It was agreed that only the deputies, senators and the president of the country be elected in the upcoming election; the local county, city, town and commune councils will be elected at a date due to be set by the new constituent assembly which will also write the constitution.

The bill in its present form will be submitted to the Provisional National Unity Council for discussion and approval.

Poll Forecasts NSF Election Victory

AU1902200090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 19 Feb 90

["Agora--An Opinion Poll"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/2/1990—Were the elections to take place right now the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council would win 57.2 per cent of the votes, which compares with 28.7 per cent for the parties, an opinion poll taken by the sociology laboratory of the University of Bucharest shows. The percentage of electors who have not decided yet stands at 14.1.

Most of the people who were asked (that is 65 per cent) take a negative attitude towards a possible social-Marxist party, which is seen as favourable or partially favourable by 7.6 and, respectively, 15.5 per cent.

The activity the NSF carried through from December 22, 1989 to January 31, 1990, when the poll was taken, was considered favourable by more than 60 per cent of the subjects, partially favourable by 32 per cent and unfavourable by 6.5 per cent (2.3 per cent gave no answer).

Half of the subjects expressed their full confidence in the institution of a truly democratic society in Romania and more than one third of them (35 per cent) expressed only reserved optimism.

The poll is not altogether conclusive as the batch on which it was conducted was not representative, especially as far as professions are concerned: intellectuals and students were over-represented, while peasants and (partially) workers were under-represented.

More Than 2,000 Trade Unions Registered

AU2102102390 Bucharst ROMPRES in English 0844 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/2/1990—As many as 2,049 free trade union organizations were registered in Romania until mid-February with more than 1.5 million members from industrial units, institutions and other economic and social units throughout the country. The Metallurgical Free Trade Union Federation has 88,500 members, that of the machine building industry 196,500 members, of electronics and electrical engineering 34,500 members, and of the light industry 108,000 members. As many as 97,000 miners, 69,700 workers in chemistry and petrochemistry, 45,800 people working in the food industry and 55,300 sales workers have affiliated to the trade union federations by branches set up so far. In agriculture there were 338 trade union organizations with 90,700 members.

Transylvanian Vatra Romaneascu Union Founded

AU2102103390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0836 GMT 21 Feb 90

["The Parties Introduce Themselves—What is "Vatra Romaneasca" Union?—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/2/1990—As it specifies in its programme the "Vatra Romaneasca" (Romanian Hearth) Union is an organization of the Romanian spirituality of Transylvania, expression of the identity of all those who feel and speak Romanian in that part of the country.

The organization has not a declared political character but asks to be directly consulted on all the questions that concern the economic and social life in that territory.

The union works in the spirit of the universal declaration of human rights, of the Helsinki Final Act and pursues to inform public opinion about all the actions that run counter to the interests of the Romanian people, to combat any tendency of distorting and destroying the assets of the Transylvanian Romanian.

The union will militate against any manifestation of separatism, chauvinism and nationalism, expresses its protest against the attempts at harming state unity and the culture of the Romanian people, opposes the creation of administrative-territorial and cultural enclaves asking that the historic right of the Romanian population that has been living in Transylvania from time immemorial be observed.

Upholding the use of the Romanian language as the only official language throughout the country's territory, the

union grounds its inter-ethnic relations on the loyalty of all the country's citizens, no matter their mother tongue, faith, political allegiance or race, to the Romanian people, to Romania.

Fascist Group Announces Formation in Bacau

AU2102195690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 21 Feb 90

["An Attempt To Create a Fascist-Type Organization"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1990—"DESTEPTAREA" [AWAKENING], a local daily published in the city of Bacau, seat of the homonymous county in east Romania, was summoned by a fascist-type organization that calls itself "The Iron Guard Anticommunist Army" to announce its "re-creation," actually its formation. Informing its readers about the open threats on its contributors, the local daily publishes an editorial note along with a photocopy of the threatening text, the original being in possession of the county police for investigations. Among other things, the said text says:

"After 45 years we found the Legion [pre-World War II fascist organization] again. The Iron Guard will fight all persons who support a "leftist" ideology. We will not stop until all communists, socialists or other leftist skunks are finished. Force is our creed.. Our time has come at last. The country will be ours again. Heil Hitler. We will prevail."

Taking position against this "Manifesto" "DESTEPTAREA" writes among other things: "The only reason to make your "reappearance" public is to show what you really are like: blood-thirsty, blind with hatred, violent, cruel, your reason obscured by fanaticism, vindictive. Recent history is too full of horrendous crimes to make room for you. Too much bestiality and intolerance has built up for the nation to tolerate you... Memories are still fresh of the wounds you inflicted on Romanian culture and democracy at a time when you wanted to put the country to your account, like now."

Daily DIMINEATA Makes First Appearance

AU1902200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1603 GMT 19 Feb 90

["Mass Media—'DIMINEATA'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/2/1990—The first issue of a newspaper of democratic opinion and information called "DIMINEATA" (THE MORNING) was brought out today, February 19. The new publication follows in the footsteps of the prewar democratic press and will deal with the people's concerns, opening its pages to all bona-fide individuals in an attempt at providing for a permanent exchange of opinions, to thus contribute to overcoming the economic, political, social and spiritual crisis facing this country at present.

Under the headline "People Should Be Judged by Their Deeds and by Their Attitudes," the first issue runs an extensive interview with Mr Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, as well as a brief interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman, under the heading "We Must Renew the Traditional Romanian-French Relations."

The eight-page newspaper also prints news items, accounts, articles and commentaries on the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council, the right to work, science in Romania, the need for marketing, and other topical subjects.

* Apostol Defends Himself Against Accusations

27000002B Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 10 Jan 90 p 2

[Gheorghe Apostol letter]

[Text] Dear Mr. Chief Editor:

I am Gheorghe Apostol, one of the six signers of the appeal issued in March 1989.

After the interview of Silviu Brucan on Free Romanian Television on 1 and 2 January in which he made a very serious accusation against me, there appeared on the first page of TINERETUL LIBER—the paper which you honorably direct—on 4 January 1990, an item entitled in capital letters "SENSATIONAL," with a photograph of Silviu Brucan and the statement that: "Gheorghe Apostol, one of the signers of the Appeal of the Six, betrayed the other five to the Securitate."

In the television interview, Brucan referred to a tape which he heard and on which I accuse him, mentioning an article from the Penal Code. In the television interview, there was not for a moment any talk about the accusation and betrayal of the five. The "cunning" question of Carmen Dumitrescu—recorded by Brucan, could confuse anyone.

But anyone who was attentive would have noted that Brucan was the only one talking on the respective tape.

Let me mention that the Securitate, with the means available to it, which were stressed by Brucan in the interview, would be able to make any type of recording or mix, as they call it in the radio business.

I have seen many of Brucan's statements, written and signed. My wife was questioned along with me. She saw letters supposedly written by her which she never wrote.

Let me mention that my investigation lasted from March 1989 to September 1989.

I have had the decency not to say this, since this is not the time to talk about myself when, in the hospitals, young and old are dying, people who have fallen in the battle as true heroes of the people's revolution in Romania, a revolution won through their sacrifices. It is not the time to talk about ourselves and Brucan should not have done this either.

Professor Dumitru Mazilu, the first deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front Council, in his article of 6 January in ROMANIA LIBERA, stresses, in this context, that he rejects: "ANY ATTEMPT TO PROMOTE PERSONAL DESIRES TO GET EVEN AND WE DO NOT ACCEPT OR ENCOURAGE VENDETTA IN ANY FORM."

I have acted as a Romanian and a patriot and I stress that without my initiative and activity it would not have been possible to produce this APPEAL. I do not want any position or any laurels for this. Brucan also said this, as he mentioned in the third point of the note entitled "SENSATIONAL"—but, nevertheless he is chairman of the Commission for Foreign Relations of the National Salvation Front Council.

I do not want anything since we are living in a new historic period, with new people who are responsible for the future destinies of the country and the Romanian people.

I am protesting the attitude of Silviu Brucan who levied serious accusations against me in the interview, without first discussing the matter with me and the other signers of the Appeal. We acted as a group signing the Appeal of the Six and this was natural—especially since conditions were much more favorable if we proceeded in this way.

It is very clear that the part of the interview which referred to me was done deliberately so that I would be compromised politically before the Romanian people.

I urgently request that my protest be made known through the intermediary of the newspaper TINERETUL LIBER, which you head, if we assert that Freedom, Democracy, Dignity, and Freedom of Speech have truly been established in Romania.

With thanks,
Gheorghe Apostol

* NSF-Orchestrated Rallies Criticized

90EB0254D Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Jan 90 p 1

[Darie Novaceanu article: "The Circus and Guillotine Square"]

[Text] Between the signing of the second decree, a round table discussion with the recently created parties, and the reception of several foreign figures, Mr. Iliescu, I am almost certain, is still watching television and when he is not, he is looking out the window toward Guillotine, excuse me, Victoria, Square.

It is a daily ritual with the danger of becoming a reflex. Decrees issue from ROMPRES and go nowhere. They go where they are not supposed to or arrive too late and are cancelled. Clearly, when it was called AGERPRESS, the flow of information was more vigorous. Should we propose a return to the old name?

Let us go on to the round table discussions. There will be so many of them and probably will result in so few agreements that only the chairs will keep going around. Also let us pass over what could have been seen on television, because regardless of what can be seen it begins to become uninteresting and boring. An exiled Romanian jurist comes to visit Bucharest and instructs us on the forms of protest in a democracy and how ballots are folded, at a time when our jurists who have not left the country are becoming economists and are calculating how much it would cost us to print ballots and produce the ballot boxes. I assure you that it will be money that will be made available not to the historic parties but to the National Salvation front. After this consultation we can also view a trial—a first trial—with accomplices in the still fresh genocide in Romania; crude and clever beings suddenly become cultured and Machiavellian, while the panel of judges appears to be tired and inconvenienced by their burden. This may be followed by an old movie with flickering images or a presentation of the 20 as yet unregistered parties in whose programs we find a very beautiful future, like a grassy plain on which pygmy horses and sheep as big as elephants romp around. I propose that we return to three hours of broadcasting daily.

Now we approach Mr. Iliescu's window and try to see what he does, obviously a spontaneous demonstration. Since it is spontaneous, there is no point in asking who organized it. It can have no organizer, even if one really does exist.

We understand all these events, but I do not clearly understand what purpose they serve and where they will lead; because of them we no longer have either jobs, sleep, homes, or friends, except on the telephone.

I hope I will be forgiven for saying so, but there is too much acrobatics in what is taking place, too much improvised menagerie, too much noise, too much cheap triumphant boasting, and especially too much lack of character and too much vendetta. After the directly broadcast unique revolution, we are now becoming witnesses to a planetary circus. Of course the period up to the elections was too short. It has been extended and now seems to be even shorter. The election campaign has not officially begun. The National Salvation Front is afraid to issue a decree because it will be obliged to rescind it. Consequently, spontaneous demonstrations are held daily in Victoria Square to bring down a member of the Council of the Front. From being an area which I would have wanted to be one of joy liberated and shared, the square runs the risk of becoming Guillotine Square. Some of the Council members have left voluntarily, others have been forced to go, others have not come so as not to be forced to leave, and others who should not have come are not leaving. And if it is true that history repeats itself, this means that no one can come after the guillotine except a Napoleon, a dictator who will teach us for another 25 years the meaning of liberty, democracy, and dignity.

Like Mr. Paler, I begin to be afraid; oblivious among books, now I long for their peace and wisdom, and an inner drive is trying to lead me to them.

Reportage on Crackdown in Kosovo, Reaction

Curfew Announced

LD2102165690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Due to the difficult security situation in Kosovo, the so-called curfew is imposed in Kosovo from 2100-0400 [2000-0300 GMT]. Citizens are warned to observe this order, as well as the previous ban on gathering with the intention to protest, and are warned that internal affairs forces will respond to disobedience with all measures envisaged by law.

In this regard, the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs issued the following statement:

"Proceeding from the overall security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the measures of the SFRY Presidency and the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and on the basis of the decision made by the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs today issued the order banning the movement of persons on the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from 2100-0400, effective immediately.

"Otherwise, the order of the provincial secretary for internal affairs, with effect from 1 March, banning the movement of people and access to public places or designated areas, banning the movement of a large number of people or groups with the intention to demonstrate or protest, as well as banning access to public places and gatherings of people at public places with the aim to demonstrate or protest, is still in effect.

"Responsible persons of the internal affairs bodies will oversee the implementation of the orders.

"In order to minimize interference with production, traffic, and work in organizations and institutions where work is conducted in shifts, it is proposed that shifts be harmonized with the curfew hours.

"The following are exempt from the ban on movement: vehicles and personnel of the ambulance service, fire brigades, and the Yugoslav National Army but only when they are on official duties. Hereby, the possibility to control persons and vehicles of the ambulance service and fire brigades, as well as seriously ill people seeking medical help, is not precluded.

"The organizational units of the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs (security centers and the department for public security) will, in exceptional cases, issue permits for movement during the curfew hours only to representatives of sociopolitical organizations on urgent sociopolitical activity, chronically ill people needing frequent medical help, and then only with the agreement of medical institutions, and shift workers, with the agreement of management, where it is not possible to adapt production to curfew hours.

"The provincial secretariat for internal affairs once again calls on working people and citizens to observe the ban on the movement of people and access to public places or designated areas and the ban on the movement during designated periods of time and in designated places. At the same time, it warns all working people and citizens that internal affairs bodies will undertake all measures envisaged by law if the bans are disobeyed."

Trains Stoned, Barricades in Pristina

LD2102190690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—No transport operator outside Kosovo sent buses to Pristina today, a statement by the Kosovo Executive Council Provincial Secretariat for Information reveals. Rail traffic is running with difficulties. A passenger train on the Skopje-Kosovo Polje line was stoned yesterday by demonstrators in front of the train station in Kacanik. They broke windows on the locomotive and several coaches, so that ticket collectors were forced to hide in the locomotive. Someone stopped a train on the Kacanik-Urosevac line four times by using hand-brakes on the tracks. There were no ticket collectors on the train, the statement says.

The enterprise for the maintanance of roads had to clear up barricades in two streets in Pristina. Barricades were removed from the roads out of Gniljane to Pristina and in Titova Mitrovica near a bridge and roads leading to Sipolje, Zabare, and Sipkovac.

Due to security reasons, vans were not used to carry mail. The mail was delivered in a normal manner, the statement adds.

Kosovo Miners End Strike

LD2102201990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—The political-security situation in the Titova Mitrovica municipality is exceptionally serious and far more complex than in previous days, according to the Titova Mitrovica League of Communists [LC] Municipal Committee and the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection.

The statement from their session today says that the Stari Trg mines in Trepca are not working today, nor is the battery factory in Titova Mitrovica, nor the Trepca lead smelting works in Zvecan. Yesterday's demonstrations by Albanian workers were more violent, organized, and widespread than any so far, the statement says. In clashes between very aggressive demonstrators and the police, one demonstrator died last night and ten were injured. Injuries, mainly from stones, were inflicted on 38 policemen; two of them were seriously injured. The injured include Simeon Vucinic, commander of the police station in Titova Mitrovica. Six police vehicles were damaged and two private cars, one of which was set on fire.

Sixteen demonstrators were detained. Criminal charges have been brought against 12 of them, and two have been charged with minor offences.

A large group of Albanians has already left for the funeral of Seljman Vojvoda, who died yesterday. He will be buried in the village of Lausa, near Srbica.

At the session of the Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee Presidium and the committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection, it was concluded that in all collectives and sociopolitical organizations action should be initiated to expose the hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists and identify their leaders and organizers.

The same is sought of alternative groups of Albanians.

The demand is also made for all measures envisaged under the law to be taken against those who violate the public order and peace and the obligation to work, and for measures of party and state organs to be implemented.

An expanded session of the Titova Mitroica LC Municipal Committee has been called for this evening in Titova Mitrovica.

Meanwhile, the leadership of the Trepca mine and combine have rescinded the decision made last night to halt the work in the Stari Trg mine for 12 days. On the contrary, it was decided today that work in the mine should continue, with those miners who want to work and who have not infringed on the obligation to work and the law on working relations. To begin with, this will mean a 20-25 percent utilization of production capacities. In this mine 1,404 workers have violated the work obligation, and, as we have been informed by officials in this collective, the procedure for taking legal measures against them has been set in motion, and the disciplinary procedure for termination of employment has been started against 925 workers who have not worked for five or more days in a row.

Albanian Protests 'Separatist'

LD2102184990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Vucitrn, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Demonstrations by several hundred mainly young Albanians have been under way in Vucitrn since early this morning. After refusing to go to their classes, some 700 secondary school pupils took to the streets, but the police dispersed this group using tear gas. After this groups of 100-150 demonstrated one after another. They were dispersed by the police with the use of tear gas. The demonstrations also continued this afternoon, when groups of mainly young people and children gathered.

According to Dragise Murganic, president of the Vucitrn municipality, these are hostile, separatist demonstrations aimed at the destruction of Yugoslavia. The demonstrations yesterday and today were exceptionally violent, he said. Barricades were set up on the streets and stones were thrown at the police. [passage omitted]

Murganic says that the names of the organizers are not known, but claims have surfaced that activists of the Kosovo "Democratic Party" are taking part in the preparation and organization of the unrest.

TANJUG reporters directly contacted a member of the initiative committee of the Vucitrn branch of the Democratic Party, lawyer Dzafer Malici, who categorically rejected these claims, however. He stated that his party has even appealed to the population not to take to the streets. Rallies, he said, damage our efforts to set up a democratic dialogue. [passage omitted]

Police Halt Demonstrations

LD2102222690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, February 21 (TANJUG)—Several hundred ethnic Albanians attempted to demonstrate in the towns of Vucitrn, Podujevo and Djakovica in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo today but were prevented in their plans by a quick police intervention.

In the Province of Kosovo, which is a part of the republic of Serbia, a curfew was imposed today because of the continued demonstrations of ethnic-Albanian separatists. In the demonstrations organized in the past few days, ethnic Albanian separatists used even firearms in clashes with security forces.

The telephone and telegraph links with the town of Pec in Kosovo were cut off this afternoon. A fire broke out in the post office building in Pec today. Two persons were injured.

The bus and railway transport in the province are irregular. No bus company from outside the Province of Kosovo sent any of its buses to the province today.

Serbian and Montenegrin students of Pristina secondary schools today demanded from the state organs to ensure that they can attend school safely. If this is not achieved by Monday, February 26, they would continue their education outside the province.

Representatives of the provincial parliament, the Kosovo League of Communists Central Committee, the Kosovo government and the Pristina University today accepted the demands of Serbian, Montenegrin and Muslim students to ensure their safety in the student campus. Head of Kosovo communists Rahman Morina said that measures have been taken which should ensure the resumption of normal and secure live and work in

the student campus by tomorrow at the latest, and that by next Monday regular lectures will be resumed at the university.

The Kosovo government demanded this evening from teachers and professors to hold classes and lectures in all schools and universities regardless of the number of students present.

In the Province of Kosovo, more strikes were staged also today by Albanian workers in twenty-odd production enterprises. In Titova Mitrovica, the enterprises that did not work included the Stari Trg mine, a storage battery plant and the Trepca lead works at Zvecane. The management of the Trepca mining and smelting works decided that work in its mines should be continued with the workers who want to work, while legal proceedings should be raised against those who refuse to fulfil their obligatory work orders introduced as a special measure last February, on a decision by the Yugoslav State Presidency.

Also striking today are owners of the private shops in the town of Istok. They solidarize with the unacceptable demands by Albanian separatists.

The situation is most difficult in Urosevac where the local welded-piping factory has not operated for almost one month. In Srbica today, none of the enterprises worked today, while 600 Albanian workers did not work in Suva Reka.

The Executive Council of Kosovo sought tonight that all workers should return to jobs immediately.

Letters were addressed today to the Yugoslav State Presidency, the federal government and general public by seven Kosovo alternative groups and organizations which the Republic of Serbia's official policy said were inspirers of the latest demonstrations. These groups, predominantly rallying Albanians, assert that the policy of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia is "separatist" because of "persistently trying to cut off and isolate Kosovo from the trends of democracy in the country."

Leaders of the alternative groups call all inhabitants of Kosovo to refrain from demonstrations because, as they put it, this gives a motive for repression and puts off a democratic solution of the Kosovo problem.

They demand that an end be put to the "exceeding of powers" on the part of official organs. They also seek that commissions be set up by members of human rights committees from throughout the country to take part in the elucidation of all cases of what they call "murders and maltreatment of citizens."

Pristina Students Break Curfew

AU2102213390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] In the first minutes after the curfew order came into effect, residents of student dormitories disturbed public peace and order in the student center in Pristina. They shouted [words indistinct]. The students then shouted: Democracy, democracy.

The disturbance of public peace and order in the student center in Pristina lasted for about half an hour.

32 Albanians Reported Dead in Kosovo

AU2102113690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 90 p 5

[Sanja Modric report: "The Quest for a Little Bit of Truth"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—Academician Idriz Ajeti and Dr. Zekrija Cana, secretary and president of the Committee for the Protection of Rights and Freedoms in Kosovo, spoke exceptionally sharply and bitterly in Zagreb yesterday about the situation in Kosovo. They had traveled to Zagreb at the invitation of the Committee for Human Rights within the Socialist Alliance of Croatia. Dr. Ajeti yesterday briefed his colleagues in the corresponding committee in Croatia—who have on several occasions been concerned with the Kosovo drama and made concerned public appeals on this subject—on a number of horrific details concerning the 32 Albanians who have been killed and the 142 who have been injured in the Kosovo demonstrations. He spoke about the "terror that is inspired by Serbia's repressive policy which is carried out by none other than the members of the combined militia unit."

Speaking about the real truth of Kosovo, Dr Ajeti stated that the Albanians' rights are more and more drastically violated from day to day.

In this school year, 11,000 students who completed primary school in Kosovo could not enroll in secondary schools supposedly because of limited space in schools and a lack of teaching staff, Ajeti stated. Repression is being used to reduce the natural representation of Albanians in the economy, administration, education, and health; and political measures have been taken against half a million mainly young Albanian citizens since 1981. The ferocious differentiation means that this number is increasing by the day....

Stressing that the official representatives of the policy of the Socialist Republic of Serbia persistently and resolutely reject any dialogue with the Albanians, vehemently criticizing all their proposals, Dr. Ajeti underscored that the proponents of Serbian policy must for once rid themselves of the illusion that Kosovo belongs only to the Serbs and nobody else. The only way out of the Kosovo crisis is a joint discussion about Kosovo's future among all its inhabitants, the acceptance of the Kosovo alternative groups as equal partners in this dialogue, and—prior to this—an end to repression and violence. As Dr. Ajeti said, because of the repressive authorities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the puppet regime in the province, there is little hope that anything like this will come about.

Snipers shoot demonstrators in the back after tear gas has had a dulling effect. The Kosovo Red Cross is being completely controlled, so even though people are prepared to send teams of doctors and medicines to Kosovo, it is not possible to carry this out, said Dr. Zekrija Cana. There is evidence to show that bullets are being used that kill, as well as plastic bullets, which do not kill but completely disable the victims so that they cannot live and work properly. Dr. Cana stressed that "it can be reliably stated that not one militiaman has so far been killed in Kosovo because no one has announced any names." [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

"Drumhead Trials for Misdemeanors"

Dr Zekrija Cana stressed that misdemeanor courts in Kosovo are working all hours of the day and night and operate almost as courts for drumhead trials. People are given a punishment and then immediately sent to serve the sentence without a delay for an appeal to be lodged. Parents are not allowing their children to go to school because they are afraid that they will be terrorized by the militia of the combined units whose members from Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia behave in the most brutal way.

Militia Mistreatment Protested

AU2102110390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Feb 90 p 13

[J.S. report: "Why Was Enver Sahiti Beaten Up?"]

[Text] Podujevo, 14 Feb—An unprecedented incident occurred this afternoon after the arrival of the joint militia unit. After showing his identity card to three militiamen in front of the Communal Assembly, Enver Sahiti (22), from the village of Stedim, was brutally beaten merely for wearing a red and black scarf [Albanian national colors]. Witnessing this exceptional incident, passersby, a group of whom who vainly tried to rescue the boy from the blows, went to the Podujevo security offices to ask for help, while another group went to the Communal Assembly. The young man suffered body wounds.

Since the halls of the Communal Assembly and the cinema were too small to hold everybody, a decision was made to hold a protest gathering, which was attended by more than 5,000 people who were addressed by representatives of the authorities. Communal Assembly President Mexhid Jetullahu said that additional efforts were being made to investigate the case. Meanwhile, Ahmet Asllani, head of the Public Security Department, said that an official statement would be issued before the end of the day and all the necessary legal measures would be taken against the culprits. The crowd demanded that the incident be explained then and there and insisted that eyewitnesses should have their say.

Witnesses were then brought into the cinema to make their statements, which were read to those present at the gathering. The eyewitnesses stated that the militia checked Enver's identity card, tore off the black and red scarf he was wearing, trampled it under foot, and ordered him to clean their boots. Because Enver refused to do this, three militiamen brutally beat him and dragged him in front of the crowd by the bumper of an armored vehicle. Other eyewitnesses corroborated these facts and demanded the strictest measures be taken against the culprits. They also demanded the lifting of the repressive emergency measures and said that nobody will send their children to school until this is done. Finally, the head of the Public Security Department again addressed the crowd, saying that every effort would be made to inform the public of an official assessment of the incident before the end of the day and asking the crowd to disperse. Those present at the gathering then dispersed quietly, without any kind of outrage taking place. Meanwhile, as we learned from the Public Security Department, a working group has been formed to produce official assessments and to report the measures to be taken against those responsible for the incident.

Kosovo Serbs Voice Grievances

AU2102111190 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Feb 90 p 6

[M. Dragidella report: "The Enemy in Kosovo Is Constantly Active"]

[Text] Klina, 16 Feb—Yesterday evening's protest gathering of Serbs and Montenegrins in Klina, attended by communal leaders and Zivorad Igic, chairman of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference Presidium, and Milomir Kovacevic and Frane Smakaj, presidium members, was devoted to the current political and security situation in the commune and beyond, and citizens were also told about the voluntary campaign to collect funds for the loan for the economic development of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

All the speakers judged the situation created after the recent demonstrations to be serious and even worse than during the National Liberation War. As at many other such meetings, various former and current cadres in the commune and enterprises were held responsible. Bogosav Bacic said that the situation in Kosovo has been the same since 1981, and that the Serbian people, who lost 1,600,000 victims in the National Liberation War, had given freedom to others. He said that the chiefs of the Public Security Department and the Militia Station should resign. At the Kosovo bauxite mine, we see nothing but raised fingers ["V"-sign of Albanian protesters], Milenko Pesic said, adding that those who raise two fingers should have them broken, because this is not Romania or Germany. Dragan Popovic and some other speakers demanded that the republican militia should remain here. Noticing that not all the communal leaders were present, he demanded that the president of the

Klina League of Communists [LC] should either do his job better or resign. He demanded that no new workers should be hired at the shoe factory, but that the vacancies should be kept for returning Serbs and Montenegrins. Milica Malevic proposed that Eduard Kardelj Street should be renamed after one of the heroes of the Battle of Kosovo. Talking about the return of emigrants, she said that Dimitrie Vasic had given 40 ares [0.4 hectare] of land and his wife another 15 ares. Talking about pluralism, Rados Barjaktevic said that we in Kosovo need no other parties apart from the LC and the SAWP, because the Albanians joined the LC to gain positions, and they are only forming new parties now because they have lost them.

The majority of speakers criticized a long list of individuals, and there was also criticism of some non-Albanian cadres. Talking about efforts to encourage emigrants to return and to attract people who wish to live and work in Kosovo, Vladimir Banjac made a specific suggestion. He asked all the Serbs and Montenegrins with both houses and apartments in Klina to give up their apartments to those returning.

The gathering, in which 400 citizens took part, approved conclusions. They demanded that ideopolitical differentiation should continue and that all job vacancies should be filled by returning emigrants. A register of emigrants should be compiled as soon as possible, the law forbidding the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo should be rescinded, the organizers of the demonstrations should be exposed, changes to the names of streets and schools should continue, the province should be given back the name of Kosovo-Metohija, Belgrade Television should broadcast a regular one-hour program on Kosovo, the bust of Luigj Gurakuqi [Albanian writer] should be removed from the yard of the J.B. Tito High School, and the monument to the revolution in the town center should be demolished.

Joining the discussion, Zivorad Igic said that he knew that people had not gathered here because they wished to do so, but were impelled by their sufferings, which are a consequence of failed policies. In order to eliminate these sufferings, we must create a united front of Serbs, Montenegrins, and honest Albanians. Hostile activity, which had been illegal since 1941, became legal in Kosovo in 1981. The enemy in Kosovo has begun to mistreat the populace and has robbed people of their neighbors and nearest and dearest, but, like our ancestors, we will fight to stay here, because it will be a victory for the enemy if we emigrate. Albanian chauvinists have been active here since the time of the Ottoman Empire, before the Balkan wars. They were active between the wars, and there have been Albanian vandals since World War II. The enemy has not only remained the same, but has become even more aggressive. One mistake that must be corrected, Zivorad Igic said, is the law preventing the return of Serbs and Montenegrins, and another is the confiscation of the property of Serbs and Montenegrins for the creation of agricultural enterprises.

It is planned that another 100,000 Serbs and Montenegrins will come to our province by 1995. Talking about the alternative movements in Kosovo, he said that we have a clear position that these are illegal, hostile organizations. Zivorad Igic concluded by saying that, as for the defections from the ranks of the LC, these people are only helping us to carry out differentiation effortlessly.

Croat Party Backs Presidency Measures

AU2102113290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 90 p 6

[R. K. report: "Croatian Communists Do Not Support the Lifting of Extraordinary Measures in Kosovo"]

[Text] Benkovac, 17 February—The League of Communists of Croatia will advocate that a certain number of exceptionally important issues, particularly for the equality of Serbs and Croats in this republic, be resolved through consensus.

This was announced today by Boris Malada, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, in talks with members of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Benkovac and the secretaries of the basic organizations of the League of Communists.

He also explained that, unlike the representatives of Slovenia, the League of Communists of Croatia has taken the stand that the state of emergency should remain in Kosovo because of the deeply disturbed interethnic relations and activities by separatists, and that everything should be done to create conditions for lifting the extraordinary measures that were introduced after a decision by the SFRY's highest organ.

Emigration Figures Said Distorted

AU2002152790 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Feb 90 p 7

[Xhefqet Rexhepi commentary: "A 'Language of Understanding' Requires the Truth"]

[Text] Progressive forces and all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo welcome initiatives aimed at bringing back emigrants as a contribution toward stabilizing the political and security situation and improving togetherness in the region. As such, the desire to return to Kosovo expressed by the Belgrade gynecologist Rade Pavlovic, who lived here until the seventies, is also to be welcomed. Nobody can deny the former director of the Pristina Health Center the right to also explain his reasons for emigrating from Kosovo, as he did in an interview with a POLITIKA EKSPRES journalist, entitled "Let Us Go At Once, Even if it Is Hard," published on 12 February. Any evidence produced on such a subject provides an opportunity for his former colleagues to recall the past and to discover who was to blame for this specialist's emigration. The people whom Pavlovic mentions may have their counterarguments, which they can submit if the truth must be known.

Conducting the case in this way would be quite within the spirit of the democratization of life and the elimination of injustice.

The start of such a conversation promises a "language of understanding," but soon drifts away from a discussion of a return to Kosovo to broach various matters which, to put it mildly, cause amazement; it also often employs disinformation in support of incredible statements. How can one trust the data quoted in this interview, which reports that "in recent years, 400,000 people have emigrated from Kosovo, of whom one-quarter live in Belgrade"? Census data refute these figures. In 1931, 151,000 Serbs and Montenegrins lived in Kosovo, just over 171,000 Serbs in 1948, about 190,000 in 1953, 227,000 in 1961, 228,000 in 1971, and 209,792 and 1981. One must ask how 400,000 people could have emigrated "in recent years," when the truth that is heard at present is that about 200,000 have emigrated from Kosovo. Census reports show that the largest number of Montenegrins since 1931 was 38,000 in 1961. Bearing this in mind, one must ask where the gynecologist found such figures and to what end he uses them, and why he does not rely on the records of the relevant provincial, republican, and federal bodies for the number of emigrants from Kosovo.

In the course of the conversation, this man in a white coat, who also has a poetic imagination, discovers that the Albanians call themselves "siptari" [distortion of Albanian "shqiptare," used in Serbo-Croatian as a derogative term, as opposed to the standard "albanci"], while "albanci" are citizens of Albania. The idea of calling Albanians "albanci," he says, is to create the impression in the world that a single people exist and live in a united state territory! When one hears such things from a fellow countryman, one must first ask how it is possible for him to know so little about his Albanian neighbors, or whether he is misusing facts for political purposes, while not sparing the most derogatory expressions. It is true that the Albanians call themselves "shqiptare," but not "siptari." They are called "shqiptare" wherever they live and have the same name even outside their kinship state. It is also true that in Serbo-Croatian literature, they are called "albanci," just as they are called "albanais" in French. The Albanians have similar words for other peoples. The Germans call their country "Deutschland," but a Serb would be laughed at for calling it such, because the word "Nemacka" is used in Serbo- Croatian. Why should the Albanians constitute an exception? There are also Germans in the Soviet Union, but their common name with Germans in their kinship state does not mean they have the right to unite with Germany.

Rade is not yet content. He has discovered that mosques are being built in Zagreb and elsewhere in order to create a Muslim state in the Balkans, and quotes a song "The holy Muslim land will stretch from Zagreb to Tehran." Let us remember that there are also mosques throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa. Do all these territories belong to Tehran because they have mosques? Current trends suggest that the Albanians, one of Europe's smallest peoples—and not even the Americans and the Russians, the world's largest powers—cannot create a state whose borders reach Tehran. Enough is enough. The Albanians want to live in peace and equality with all the other peoples in Kosovo, Serbia, and the SFRY, on the territory where their ancestors also lived. It should not be forgotten that the Albanians have never tried to impose on anybody a name which at various times and for various reasons has had pejorative connotations.

Vojvodina's Kostic Meets Volunteers for Kosovo

LD2002155490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—At the express demand of several hundred volunteers who want to leave Vojvodina for Kosovo to help settle the situation there, Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, today received their representatives and members of the "Solidarity" [Solidarnost"] Association. They requested that they be given arms to help defend the endangered Serbs and Montenegrins and all inhabitants, as well as the Albanians who are Yugoslav-oriented in Kosovo. They also requested uniforms and a record of service so that during their absence they would not lose their years of service in the collectives in which they are employed. [passage omitted]

Jugoslav Kostic informed the group of volunteers that the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina will immediately warn the Serbian Presidency that it will not bear responsibility for what is happening in Kosovo if the highest state organs of the federation, today, do not [words indistinct] discuss in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia also take appropriate measures. [passage omitted]

Colonel Geza Farkas, provincial secretary for national defense, stressed that he fully understands the patriotic and well-intentioned gesture of the volunteers to depart for Kosovo. However, he warned, there are constitutional provisions and laws which strictly specify who can be involved in the defense of the protection of the integrity [words indistinct], and how. These regulations, Farkas said, do not envisage the dispatch of voluntary groups or the issuing of uniforms and weapons. [passage omitted]

Slovenia Urges Immediate Electoral Law Changes

LD1602130690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubijana, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—Slovenia is of the view that by 25 February, in other words before the start of pre-election activities, a law should be adopted as an emergency matter changing the election procedure for the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber.

In a letter to Federal Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic, Slovenian Assembly President Miran Potrc warns that the law in force at the moment still allocates a great number of election procedure tasks to the Socialist Alliance. Following the adoption of a new election law in Slovenia, the Socialist Alliance no longer has such a role to play.

If changed and adopted, the law would open the door in coming elections for delegates to the Federal Chamber to "multiparty representation," since all registered political organizations, citizens, and their associations and alliances would be given an opportunity to put forward their candidates.

Slovenian Assembly Head 'Satisfied' With Ruling

LD1202232990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1754 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, Feb 12 (TANJUG)—Miran Potrc, the president of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, said he was satisfied with the opinion of the federal Constitutional Court on the amendments to the Slovenian Constitiution.

"The court said that only one amendment clashes with the federal Constitution", Potrc told a press conference in Ljubljana today.

The disputable amendment pertains to the question of introducing a state of emergency in peacetime conditions. It denies the authority of the Federation in this regard, and gives the right to the Slovenian Assembly. [sentence as received]

According to the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia made public a few days ago, all amendments to republican and provincial constitutions, with the exception of that of Montenegro, in some parts contravene the federal Constitution.

It is very important that the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia had reviewed all amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and stated that, with one exception, they do not clash with the federal Constitution, said Potrc.

This is of special importance, he underlined, because the amendment deals with such issues as the strengthening of Slovenia's sovereignty, the use of Slovene in federal organs in Slovenia and similar. [as heard] The court's opinion is also important because it upheld our concept of a socialist republic and relations in the Federation, Potrc said.

The adoption of the amendments to the Slovenian constitution last September triggered strong reactions, denials and political campaigns in other parts of Yugoslavia, the aftermath of which is still being felt.

Slovene Assembly Rejects FEC Proposals

LD1602194290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1105 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—It is possible to change the Yugoslav Constitution only through individual amendments, and not through whole packages. Since the Federal Executive Council [FEC], in its proposal to embark on with changes to the SFRY Constitution, puts forward its original proposal that the changes should be endorsed in a package, the Republican Executive Council does not support its proposal to embark on the changes to the Yugoslav Constitution.

These are the conclusions of the Executive Council of the Slovene Assembly. The conclusions will be passed to the Slovene Assembly. In the course of the discussion, Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, said that he proposed to FEC President Ante Markovic that the FEC offer a discussion on individual amendments. The fact is that there is a nationwide consensus regarding some proposed changes, and that discussion about proposed changes for which no agreement has been reached are underway. [passage omitted]

Kosovo, Vojvodina Favor Constitutional Changes

LD1602221590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav Government proposal for changes in the federal Constitution, aimed at creating a modern and efficient federal state, was reviewed today in two Yugoslav provinces and one republic.

The proposal won approval by the Assembly of the Province of Kosovo, while the constitutional commission of the province of Vojvodina proposed to the provincial parliament to approve it. On the other hand, the government of the republic of Slovenia proposed to its assembly to reject the proposal.

The Kosovo parliament and the Vojvodina constitutional commission also upheld a proposal by the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for changes in the federal Constitution, which is almost identical to the one submitted by the [words indistinct].

The two bodies partially approved Slovenia's proposal for changes in the Constitution, while rejecting the amendments which limit the powers of the federal state.

In the assessment of the constitutional commission of Vojvodina, the government proposal creates conditions for the implementation of the economic reform, democratization of the political system, strengthening of the legal state and more efficient exercise of the federation's functions.

The Slovenian government rejected the federal government's proposal that the amendments be approved as a package and demanded that they be reviewed individually.

The federal government's proposal has already won approval by the parliaments of Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro.

The announced rejection by the Slovenian parliament is sufficient to block the entire process because, under the existing constitution enacted in 1974, constitutional changes cannot be effected without consensus of the six republics and two provinces.

Serbian Assembly Favors Constitutional Amendment

LD2102112790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 20 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia supported today a proposal by the Federal Government to open the procedure of amending the Constitution of Yugoslavia, and added its proposal that the future Constitution should provide for the post of president of Yugoslavia.

The Assembly held that the Government's proposal enabled the supplementing and completing of the economic reforms, the democratization of relations in the domain of the political system, the strengthening of the legal state and the federation to a measure indispensable for the implementation of the economic reforms.

During the discussion it was sought, among other things, that political organizing in the administration, judiciary, enterprises and institutions should be banned.

Also considered at the session were the proposals made by the Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slovenia for changing the Constitution of Yugoslavia. The proposal of the former Republic was adopted in full, and that of the latter was adopted in part. It was pointed out that the Slovenian proposal contained unacceptable proposals for Yugoslavia as a confederation, unlike its solutions which pertain to the economic reforms.

Croatian Assembly Adopts Constitutional Changes

AU2102155990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 90 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Blessings for Multiparty System"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—With unusual speed and through an intensive procedure which lasted less than a month, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia yesterday finalized the changes to the republican constitution. The assembly adopted the amendments to republican constitution which will introduce a parliamentary type of multiparty democracy into the assembly system. Therefore, the upcoming elections—which will be held by the beginning of May—will be direct, public, free, and multiparty. This has been facilitated by Amendments 54-63 to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which were endorsed by all three chambers at their separate sessions. These amendments were harmonized by a joint commission so that they can be promulgated at the joint session of all three chambers. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Hercegovina Adopts Multiparty Law

LD2102224390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 21 (TANJUG)—One Yugoslav republic today passed a law under which political parties can freely be formed, while another approved the text of a similar draft law.

The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted the law on the association of citizens into political parties and associations, under which the newly formed parties will be eligible for monthly financial aid, provided they have at least 2,000 registered members. The newly formed parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be able to participate already in the scheduled elections for the assemblies of socio-political communities.

The new law does not specify the principles on the basis of which political parties can be organized, which means that political parties will be able to organize themselves on the basis of the territorial, productive or combined principle, unless otherwise regulated under the federal law on political parties which is yet to be passed.

The Assembly of Serbia today approved the text of a draft law on political organizations, which provides for a free association into political parties. The draft law will be put to a public discussion before it comes again before the republican assembly.

A minimum of 100 citizens will be required to form a political party. The draft law does not set any ideological restrictions for the organizing of political parties. However, no political party whose programme calls for a forcible topling of the constitutional order, the violation of human rights and freedoms and the undermining of the country's security and independence or of the integrity of the Republic of Serbia will be registered. The same will be true of parties which plan to fan national, religious and racial hatred, to achieve national goals which endanger the rights and freedoms of others or to instigate criminal acts, war and violence.

The existing socio-political organizations are given a period of six months within which to register themselves anew as political parties. In the event they fail to do so, they will have to cease their activities.

BORBA Poll on Next Elections

AU1502092690

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 12 February on page 5 carries a 3,000-word report on the results of a poll conducted by the BORBA Research Center on the upcoming elections entitled "The LCY (Still) on a Throne."

BORBA polled "300 people, 50 from each of the six republics" who were randomly selected from the telephone directories. The date of the poll is not given. The results are presented in two tables and one bar chart as follows:

Table 1

Question: "Which political party will you vote for at the forthcoming elections in our country?"

SFRY (in percentages)	
Party: LCY	31
Reasons:	
1. This is my belief	46
2. Because it is the best party	12
3. Because I know it best	11
4. Because of its historic merits	9
5. Because it is a Yugoslav oriented party	6
6. Other reasons	16
Party: Democratic Party	8
Reasons:	
1. Because it is fighting for freedom, equality, tolerance	58
2. Because it is not dogmatic	33
3. Because it has a general Yugoslav character	9
Party: Green Party	3
Reasons:	
1. Because it has a universally humane character	75
2. Because it cares about protection of environment	25
Party: I do not know	35
Reasons:	
1. I am not familiar with their programs	51
2. I am not interested in politics	18
3. No party has satisfactory programs	13
4. They are all single-nationality parties	6
5. Other reasons	12

Table 2

Question: "Which party will win at the elections?"

SFRY (in percentages)	
Party: LCY	43
Reasons:	
1. Because it has the largest membership	22
2. People trust it	15
3. Because it is the best and most progressive party	13
4. Because it has deep tradition and roots	10
5. Because it has an up-to-date program	9
6. Because it has a Yugoslav character	8
7. Other reasons	23
Party: Democratic party	8
Reasons:	
1. Because everything leads to democracy	46
2. Because it is in everybody's interest	34
3. Because it has a general Yugoslav character	12
4. Because its members are frank and clever	8
Party: Coalition	2
Reasons:	
1. Because nobody has advantage	100
Party: I do not know	31
Reasons:	
1. Because I am not sufficiently informed	32
2. Because it is uncertain	32
3. Because I am indifferent	2
4. No explanation given	34

The bar chart again deals with the first question: "Which political party will you vote for at the forthcoming elections?" The answers are broken down according to the republics and are given in percentages as follows:

Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
LCY	42
Democratic party	12
Party of Slobodan Milosevic	4
Macedonia:	
LCY	44
Democratic Party	10
Green Party	4
Montenegro:	
LCY	44
Democratic Party	6
Green Party	2
Serbia:	
LCY	30
Democratic Party	17
Party of Slobodan Milosevic	10
Croatia:	
LCY	30
Democratic Party	6
Green Party	2

Slovenia:	
Demos	16
Party of Communists	12
Alliance of Socialists	10
SFRY:	
LCY	31
Democratic party	8
Green Party	3

Markovic Meets Major Yugoslav Enterprise Heads

LD1502105190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2033 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—We must seriously begin to transform our trade in order to fully prepare ourselves for market-based economic activity, stressed Ante Markovic in talks with the directors of major Yugoslav enterprises. According to the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, the basic point in this is not only to go out into the world market, but also to bring it into our country, which is not happening currently.

Trade is currently fairly ill-equipped and impoverished, both in terms of cadres and in terms of the volume of our own material resources. Urgent changes aimed at its more rapid inclusion in the processes of economic reform, so that it becomes an autonomous factor, should be implemented through the regulation of new trade relations with banks and through production with foreign partners. It is also essential for trade to develop competitiveness, it must expand into all forms of ownership—private, mixed, cooperative, etc.

For its part, the government will do everything within its competence to establish modern relations in this sphere, but it will also nurture a trading atmosphere which will facilitate the breakdown of monopolies and create competition. The burden of the anti-inflationary program has fallen on two sectors in particular—monetary policy and trade. This means that the fate of an important reform is in your hands, the FEC president told the leaders in trade. With the dinar's strengthened convertibility, and considering that the money supply is being maintained and that the fiscal sector must carry out its function to the maximum, all calculations must cease, Ante markovic warned. According to him, speculation involving maintaining or increasing the level of prices or moves toward uncovered credit for purchases will have be detrimental.

The FEC president said that there are still enormous frozen reserves in prices. The only possible recommendation is that prices should be lowered so that all goods in stock are sold and in this way funds are realized as soon as possible, Markovic stressed. This undeniably presupposes new relations and agreements with manufacturing organizations when it comes to price formation. Greater communication between us and the world, and between trade and manufacturing, is the right path. The FEC is prepared to make arrangements with 20-30 major trading organizations so that a portion of trade with other countries is carried out through them on the domestic market. If necessary, the federal commodity reserves will also be involved in this undertaking. [passage omitted]

Talks With Bank Directors

LD1602141790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2124 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—The latest moves in the monetary sphere, aimed at making the financial sector support the reform, are necessary in order to curb inflation. The most important thing is to have those flows stopped which finance production, often its unprofitable varities, instead of those financing the retailing and marketing end. We cannot give up these restrictions until we have curbed inflation. For that basis which we should have created and was required has not yet been created. Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic said this in his talks today with the directors of the biggest Yugoslav banks.

As announced by the FEC Secretariat for Information, Markovic stressed that we are on the best way to breaking the back of inflation and to reducing it to the level fit for a sound economy. Temptations are to be endured particularly in the monetary sphere so that later on our commitments can be consistently implemented through credits. For the time being the banks' clients should seek solutions in stopping their speculations with prices and retailers, that is, by lowering their prices, they should collect the money from the market.

The crucial element about the latest limits on loans is what sort of selective approach the banks will assume in light of their respective specific features. The FEC president also mentioned, among the other important forthcoming activities, that they together with the banks will analyze again the hard currency sector and interest rates policy. He announced that the activities aimed at identifying the "raiders" of the financial institutions outside the system, which are registered according to the law on enterprises, are under way. Postal savings are also being examined following their recent rise since they should be balanced on equal terms. [passage omitted]

Markovic on Rise in Reserves, Fall in Inflation

LD2102230290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2014 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—The government's forecast that Yugoslavia would by the end of this year

have over eight billion dollars in hard currency reserves is to be fulfilled much ealier—Prime Minister Ante Markovic stated today.

In a talk with a hundred-odd Yugoslav businessmen, Markovic specified that the present level of hard currency reserves of 7.42 billion dollars was by 1.7 billion up from that [word indistict] December 18, when the government presented to parliament its market-oriented economic reforms, and at the same time exceeded by 4.7 billion dollars the level in March, 1989 when his cabinet took over.

in Markovic's view, the rate of the dinar, pegged on December 18 (and foreseen by the government to last until June 30) at seven dinars to one West German mark, has proved realistic, and the convertibility of the national currency would not be questioned even after June 30.

Markovic announced sanctions against the enterprises which, despite the [word indistinct] freeze, paid out higher salaries in January.

He also announced that until the end of February an equivalent to 340 million dollars worth of "excessive money" would be withdrawn from circulation, after this money was issued late last year for large scale buy-up of foreign exchange.

Still provisional data, presented by the Yugoslav prime minister, said that the prices in Yugoslavia between mid-January and mid- February rose by 9.7 per cent, and from February 1-20 by 3.9 per cent. A slowed-down growth of prices (which late last year were rising at a monthly rate of 50 per cent) was obvious, but it was still far from expected, said Markovic. (In its anti-inflation program, the government foresees that the inflation rate in Yugoslavia this year will not exceed 13 per cent.)

Markovic called the producers to cut down prices and organize sales of stocks, warning them that they would be unable to stand a plumetting drop in prices which is to be caused, in one or two months, by a reduced amount of circulating money.

Bank Governor on 'Restrictive' Monetary Policy

LD1502140390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2247 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 14 (TANJUG)—Commercial banks and the economy will face even more restrictive credit and monetary policy measures until the end of March, Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Dusan Vlatkovic told reporters here this evening.

In the period, bank investments will be cut by one-fifth compared to the end of 1989, and this restrictive measure may continue into the next quarter, said Vlatkovic.

The Central Bank believes that this will induce the commercial banks to step up the collection of granted credits and interest on them and to stop granting unsecured credits. Last year, the banks failed to collect 23 billion dinars (one dinar equals 12 US dollars) on granted credits.

The restrictive monetary policy is aimed at combatting inflation which stood at the record 64 per cent in December - about 2,70= [as received] per cent for the whole of 1989 - to drop to 17.3 per cent in January.

The National Bank today decided to reduce credits of issue by 30 per cent compared to the end of last year and to introduce the obligatory subscription of treasury notes to the amount of 700 million dinars. The obligatory amount of foreign current to ensure the banks' liquidity was also raised from 9508 [as received] million dinars to one billion. At the same time, discount rate remained as in January.

The illegal sale of foreign currency to East European tourists prompted the Central Bank to propose stricter control measures. Customs and other competent organs will from now on have to rigorously control the goods brought into the country for sale from East European countries. This is expected to reduce the possibilities of providing dinars with which foreigners, with the help of Yugoslavs, buy foreign exchange in banks.

The amounts of letters of credit, cheques and money orders which citizens of East European countries bring with them and exchange in Yugoslav banks will also be considerably reduced. It was proposed that the government fix a sum in foreign currencies which any citizen of an East European country must exchange for dinars on entering Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav, Cuban Central Bank Heads Hold Talks

LD1602154490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1447 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 16 (TANJUG)—Governors of Central Banks, Dusan Vlatkovic of Yugoslavia and Hector Rodriguez of Cuba met today in Belgrade and urged the further expansion of economic and banking cooperation between the two countries.

Yugoslav-Cuban trade is not balanced—last year Yugoslavia exported to Cuba over 57.7 million dollars' worth of goods, and imported from that country about 10.7 million dollars' worth. Trade between the two countries is burdened also by Yugoslavia's outstanding debts for delivered goods, so that the visit of the Cuban delegation will doubtless also be a chance for finding ways to resolve this problem.

Explaining the economic reform of the Federal Government of Premier Ante Markovic, Vlatkovic underscored that Yugoslav Firms have found themselves in a new position—they operate under market conditions and bear greater responsibility for business results and financial discipline than before.

1st Privately Owned Paper Launched in Novi Sad

LD1402230890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 14 (TANJUG)—The first privately-owned political paper in post-war Yugoslavia, SAMOUPRAVA (SELF-ADMINISTRATION), was today launched in Novi Sad, the capital of the Province of Vojvodina.

Presenting the first issue, Editor-in-chief Sinisa Nikolic said that SAMOUPRAVA "is not a party or government organ, but its pages will be open to all parties and any government."

The paper of the same name was launched by the Radical Party in 1881, and published until the outbreak of World War Two. It started as the organ of the Radical Party in the Kingdom of Serbia, and later became the paper of the same party in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Following a long break, SAMOUPRAVA was revived as a non-party or, more precisely all-party paper.

The first issue of the renewed SAMOUPRAVA, which will first be a monthly and gradually become a daily, was published in 10,000 copies.

The law on public information of Vojvodina allows the founding of privately-owned papers. Government spokesman Darko Marin told a press conference in Belgrade today that a new federal law on public information is forthcoming soon.

The law, to be enacted by the Yugoslav Government by the end of June, allows the launching of state, privately-owned and party papers. Papers can also be started by all physical and legal persons, and foreigners are allowed to invest capital in the Yugoslav media.

Marin also said that a federal law on the association of citizens, which will also allow the founding of political parties, is in preparation. Most of Yugoslavia's fedral units have already passed or are shortly to pass such laws, whole the federal law will regulate the activities of parties active in several republics and provinces.

Over 90 parties, associations and committees with diversified political programmes have been formed in Yugoslavia so far.

Reaction to Bulgaria's Comments on Macedonians

Rodic Protests Remarks

LD1902194690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia today officially protested against recent statements by top Bulgarian politicians in which the existence of the Macedonian people and the ethnic Macedonian minority in Bulgaria are negated.

Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Secretary Dusan Rodic expressed concern over such statements to the charge d'affaires of the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade, Petar Micov, describing them as a continuation of a policy which denied the existence and the rights of the ethnic Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.

Bulgarian party leader Aleksandar Lilov said in a program on Radio Sofia on Sunday that the Pirin region (a part of Bulgaria with a substantial ethnic Macedonian population) is inhabited only by Bulgarians and that they will not permit any manipulation with their national feelings.

The Yugoslav parliament recently sent a message to the Bulgarian Assembly which said that the process of democratic changes in Bulgaria should also incorporate the position of the ethnic Macedonian minority in that country.

Message Sent to Bulgarian Assembly

AU2002154190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "All Rights to Macedonians"]

[Text] Sofia, 17 Feb—Milenko Stefanovic, Yugoslavia's ambassador to Bulgaria, handed to Atanas Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, a message from the SFRY Assembly for the Bulgarian Assembly concerning the position of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.

The message stresses that the SFRY Assembly expects that the new democratic authorities in the People's Republic of Bulgaria will again enable the Macedonian minority to express its national and cultural identity and that the Macedonians will be able to enjoy all the rights which they as a national minority are entitled to according to international law.

The SFRY ambassador to Sofia handed the message to the deputy chairman of the National Assembly because the chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, Stanko Todorov, was absent. According to the established practice, the Assembly should reply to all communications that it receives, including this one.

Bulgaria's Lilov Denounces Bulgarian Macedonians

AU2002171490 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 90 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Lilov Denounces Existence of Macedonians"]

[Text] Sofia, 18 Feb—Pirin is the hearth of the Bulgarian nation and culture and the people living in Pirin cannot be the subject of any negotiations nor the small change used to settle accounts with other states. The Pirin region is inhabited by Bulgarians who regard themselves as Bulgarian. This was stated by Aleksandur Lilov,

chairman of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], on the radio station Khorizont.

On Sundays, this popular Bulgarian radio station broadcasts a current affairs program about the most important events of the week. The guest on today's [18 February] program was Aleksandur Lilov. The BCP chairman of the was answering questions from listeners and from the presenter. Some listeners ascribed the official existence of the Macedonians in Bulgaria to the Cominform's ambitions and Stalin's imperialistic intentions.

Answering the question as to whether the Macedonian question could be the subject of discord in the forthcoming elections, Lilov said that he had just returned from Pirin and that he was convinced that the people there will not permit any manipulation of their national feelings which, as Lilov stressed, are strictly Bulgarian. Anybody who tries to make election capital from this would be acting directly against the Pirin population, BCP chairman Lilov said.

Our main argument concerning the so-called Macedonian issue, before our public and the world public, is the truth. This was stated in the same program by Velizar Enchev, correspondent of OTECHESTVEN FRONT, who, in his telephone report, recalled the chronology of "the resurgence of the Macedonian issue in Yugoslavia."

We must admit, Enchev said, that after 46 years the BCP conducted a forced census, making the population in Pirin declare themselves Macedonians. This was a major historic mistake which the BCP made by blindly following the Cominform's directive of 1934, which called for the founding of the Macedonian nation. This major mistake of ours is now the main and only argument used by the Yugoslav organs, Enchev said.

He briefed the Bulgarian listeners on the program of the "Movement for General Macedonian Action" founded in Skopje, and cited a passage which states that the organization's aim is "not only the territorial unification of all Macedonians outside Yugoslavia, but also their spiritual unification."

Foreign Affairs Official on Austria Border Issue

LD1302232390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2203 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 13 (TANJUG)—It is important that the process of German reunification, which is a matter for the German people themselves to decide, should in no way disturb the atmosphere of confidence in Europe and threaten the security of all countries on the continent, including Yugoslavia, Deputy Foeign Secretary Milivoj Maksic told a session of the Yugoslav Assembly's Foreign Policy Committee here today.

Maksic recalled the government's stand that Yugoslavia, as one of the victims of World War Two, has no right to forget that there are still oustanding questions relating to the effects of the war and that the process of German reunification should include a quest for the solutions of these questions.

Maksic said that the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry had received assurances from Austria that the erection of anti-tank obstacles on the border with Yugoslavia is only a routine military activity carried out in all Austrian border areas.

However, some statements by Austrian Army officials from which Vienna has dissociated itself, to the effect that the obstacles were erected "in case of a Yugoslav Army intervention in Slovenia" give rise to dissatisfaction, because they incite mistrust in Austria's foreign policy, Maksic underlined.

The committee decided that the Yugoslav Assembly should ask the parliament and democratic public in Bulgaria not to forget the rights of its Macedonian minority, whose parent country is Yugoslavia, in the process of democratization. A democratic solution to that question would favourably influence the strengthening of mutual trust and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries.

An invitation was accepted from the assembly of the Paris-based West European Union for two Yugoslav parliamentarians to attend a special session of this association devoted to new prospects in central and Eastern Europe.